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Front cover: Painting of *Flight of the Earls* by permission of the artist Thomas Ryan, RHA.

Back cover: Church of San Pietro Montorio, Rome.

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COUNTY DONEGAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Donegal Annual is the Journal of County Donegal Historical Society which was founded by JCT MacDonagh on 20 December 1946.The objective of the Society is to record and preserve the history of the county.

The Editor invites articles and reviews relating to the history and folklore of Donegal. Manuscripts may be submitted to the Editor by email and should include bibliographic references and a short biography of the author. Authors are invited to submit new publications for review.

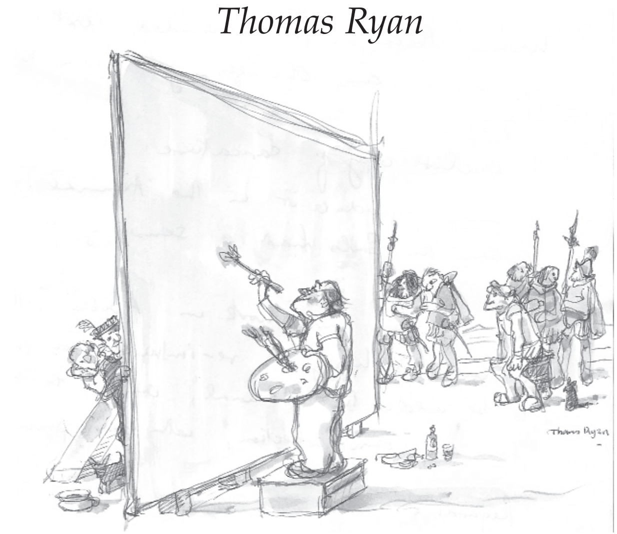
The Society has a Museum at Rossnowlagh with the co-operation of the Franciscan community. Four competitions are organized for schools annually, the Harley-MacDonagh Competition, the Father Fitzgerald Memorial Competition, the Emerson Award and the Cecil King Competition.

Lectures, field days and excursions are organized. There are over 800 members worldwide. Membership is open to anyone with an interest in history. An application form may be downloaded from our website www.donegalhistory.com. Membership for the current year is €20 and payment should be sent to Frank Shovlin, Waterloo Place, Donegal Town. Back issues are available from the Secretary.

The Society is a member of the Federation of Ulster Local Studies, which was established on the initiative of the Society in 1974.

PAINTING THE FLIGHT

Thomas Ryan



"The Artist overlooked" – by Thomas Ryan (2006)

The "Flight of the Earls" is one of those resounding terms that leaps from the pages of the school books and abides in the memory. The term, shorn of its trumpet sound, refers to the historical event that led to the final collapse of Gaelic civilisation in Ireland. The subsequent history of the country is but a sub-heading to this exodus, followed as it was, by the Plantation of Ulster.

I painted the picture at the age of 28 at a time when I was young, healthy and ambitious. Money did not feature in my anticipation but enlargement of my talent did. To paint a picture in the tradition of European history painting, long regarded as the highest branch of the practice, had enormous appeal to me as a young artist. I believed I could do it too! On and off, it took approximately one year to finish. Apart from being healthy and wanting to do something big and expressive in the art line, my other directive was patriotism. I wanted to do something "Irish" and the Flight of the Earls, that seminal event, attracted me emotionally and artistically as a worthy subject. History painting has always been the record of the victor whether in Heaven above or on the battlefields below. Rarely, if ever, is the defeated eulogised. Consequently, the Irish list of history painting is a sparse one; there are a few Patrician references like James Barry's illustration of the saint impaling the foot of the King of Cashel – the monarch thought this was part of the baptismal rite; Waldré's ceiling panels in St. Patrick's Hall in Dublin Castle acknowledging the dominance of Henry II's lordship and a few minor cameos that touch on our later history. Even the calamitous event of the Great Famine has nothing but some illustrations from the *Illustrated London News* to furnish the curiosity of modern eyes. I wanted to paint a picture to show that, outside of gallant dragoons and hard-riding squires, the Irish had other memories, mostly sad. Having completed the picture, I discovered that no one was particularly interested in the work, the subject or the artist. That was hardly surprising. Few "semis" and no flat could easily take it since it measured approximately four feet by six feet.Storage then has always been a problem. For a few years it was in Kennedy's art shop in Harcourt St., then in a Dublin club. It was later returned to

our Dublin home before being more adequately hung in my Meath studio. More recently, accommodation has been found and enhancing accommodation at that. The picture now hangs in the State apartments of Dublin Castle where, despite being on loan, it looks at home.

I read all the comments I could get my hands on concerning the "Flight of the Earls" including the journal of Tadhg Ó Cianáin, O'Neill's amanuensis, but the picture is not a text illustration for any history book but is my own original composition.[1]

Since the subject was a "departure" or "flight", I had to make this the theme of the picture and do so in an unambiguous way. The group of soldiers on the right of the picture are moving across and downhill; they are in movement and going away.Those on the left, bunched together and stationary, are going nowhere; they are the people left behind, defenceless and dejected. All the devices of the composition focus on the central figure of Hugh O'Neill who is not central at all but in the middle distance. He pauses on his downward movement to the sea and exile and turns to receive the salutation and blessing of the one erect figure, the Friar, who is to stay with them, then and in the bleak centuries ahead.

My picture is unashamedly classical in manner and makes no concession to modern art in any of its multitudinous manifestations. Possibly one of the reasons the picture was not received with favour is because it did not subscribe to this new revelation. As an artist, I have always addressed myself to the Irish people (leaving out the evangelists of those esoteric cults) encouraged in the belief that they have mostly kept their heads where they perceive obfuscation and effrontery as the primary ingredients of this "modern" art. There is a stink, they suspect, somewhere. People say of the Flight, "Oh, that should be in a museum" and maybe it will some day when the artist is safely posthumous and sweet smelling in monetary canonisation.

But I am glad that I did it.[2]

1 Tadhg Ó Cianáin, *The Flight of the Earls,* edited by Rev. Paul Walsh, (Maynooth, 1916).

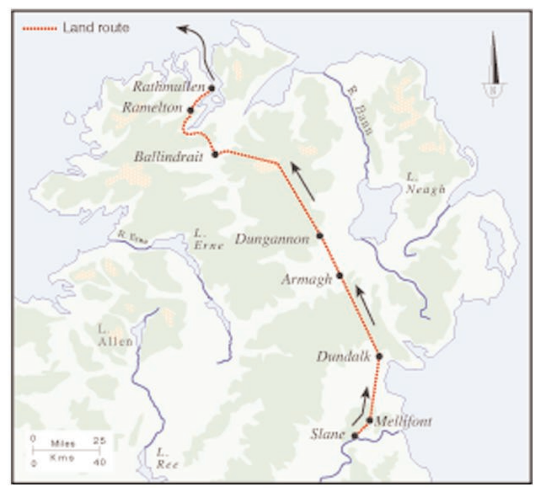
2 For a discussion on the visual representation of the Flight, see *History Ireland*, Vol. 4, No. 1 Spring 1996, " Flight of the Earls? Changing views on O'Neill's departure from Ireland", Murray Smith, p.20

Thomas Ryan painted *"The Flight of the Earls"*, which is illustrated on the cover. He is a former President of the Royal Hibernian Academy and lives in Co. Meath. The Donegal Historical Society is grateful to him for giving permission to use the image. The drawing above is a wry comment by the artist on the history of the painting on the cover.

THE DIARY OF THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

Tadhg O'Cianáin

In the name of God. Here are some of the proceedings of O'Neill from the time he left Ireland. First, O'Neill was with the Lord Justice of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester, at Slane. He received a letter from John Bath on Thursday 6 September 1607. It was stated in the letter that Cúchonnacht Maguire, Donnchadh Ó Briain, Matha Ó Maoltuile and John Bath came with a French ship for Ó Neill and the Earl of Tyrconnaill to the great harbour of Lough Swilly opposite Rathmullan in Fanad. Ó Neill took his leave of the Lord Justice on the following Saturday. He went that night to the great monastery at Mellifont where he met Sir Garret Moore. On the following day he went to Dundalk. He proceeded from there by the high road of the Fews to Silverbridge in County Armagh across Sliabh Fuadh to Armagh over the great river of the Blackwater to Dungannon. Then he continued his journey to Creeve on Tuesday and travelled over the Sperrins. He spent the night in Muinntear Luinigh in the vicinity of Lough Beigfine. On the following day he reached Burndennet river. He rested from mid-day to nightfall. After that he passed through Farsetmore and then continued his journey to Ballindrait. Caffir Ó Donnell was there to meet him. They went to Rathmullan where the ship was at anchor. There they met Rory Ó'Donnell together with many of the tribe and followers of the Earl who were busy loading food and drink on board.



O' Neill's route from Slane to Rathmullan



Port na nIarlaí

They went on board about mid-day on Friday and hoisted their sails. They moved close to the harbour and sent two boats to get water and search for firewood. The son of McSweeney of Fanad and a party of the people of the district came upon them in pursuit. They fought with one another. With difficulty the party from the boats brought water and firewood with them. About the middle of the night they hoisted their sails a second time and sailed far out to sea. The night was bright, quiet and calm with a breeze from the south-west. Then they proposed putting in to Arranmore to get more food and drink. An exceeding great storm and very bad weather rose against them together with fog and rain and they had to keep close to land. They traversed the sea far and wide. The storm and unsettled weather lasted until the middle of the following night. Then they set sail in the direction of Sligo until they were opposite Croagh Patrick. They were concerned that the King's fleet based in Galway would give them chase so they headed out to sea in the direction of Spain. Thirteen days into the voyage, they encountered an excessive storm and very bad weather. A gold cross belonging to Ó 'Neill and many other relics were placed in the sea trailing after the ship and this brought them great relief. After the storm, they caught two hawks or merlins which had alighted on the ship. They fed the birds on board.

On Sunday, September 30, the wind came right against the ship. The sailors decided not to go to Spain but to head for Le Croisic in Brittany. The lords who were in the ship agreed in consequence of the smallness of their food supply and many passengers were sick. It took two days sailing to reach the French coast.

About midday Tuesday they saw three large ships approaching from the south as if coming from Spain. They were afraid that the English navy was pursuing them but they learned that the ships were Danish and were sailing from Spain to Denmark. The sailors told them they were in the Flemish sea. As that sea was near the coast of England, the

princes would scarcely have liked to fall there by chance at that moment. Besides, they had no pilot who knew the way or had experience of the sea. They followed the squadron until the darkness of night took it out of their sight.



From Rathmullan to Quilleboeuf, France

A Frenchman on board offered to direct them to Normandy. He said, "Be not troubled or concerned, princes; before sunrise tomorrow I will direct you to land in Normandy, a famous province belonging to the King of France". Their original destination was Corunna in Spain but because of severe storms they decided to go ashore in Normandy. About mid-night the sea rose in violent, quick, strong-sounding waves against them. It was the mercy of the Trinity that saved them and kept the ship and all that was in it from being drowned. They were obliged to take down their sails by reason of the strength of the wind and the number of waves.

ARRIVAL AT QUILLEBOEUF IN FRANCE.

They were advised to avoid the islands of Jersey and Guerensey as they belonged to the King of England. Were it not for the taking down of the sails, they were in great danger of striking either of the two islands. Even if they landed of their own free will, the faces of the inimical merciless heretics who were before them on the islands would not be as at a meeting of good friends in a foreign land. The above mentioned Frenchman recognised them. He said that Englishmen were occupying and inhabiting them. As they headed towards land, a small French fishing boat from Rouen approached them. A pilot came on board and sailed the ship to Quilleboeuf, a small town on the banks of the Seine. The Earls offered them some gifts for piloting them into the harbour. It was about mid-day, Thursday October 4, the Feast Day of St. Francis, and their twenty-first day at sea. They had some rest and repose there for the remainder of the day until the following night. There were ninety-nine persons on board. When they docked, there was only five gallons of beer and one barrel of water on board. The following day, the Governor of the town hosted a dinner for O'Neill. The hawks that were captured earlier were presented to the Governor.

After dinner, the Countess, O'Neill's wife, O'Donnell's daughter together with some children and older persons were taken by boat upstream to Rouen. O'Neill, the Earl and other lords, accompanied by seventeen men on horses, went to La Bouille, a town seven miles from Quilleboeuf. As they were leaving, they saw the Governor of Quilleboeuf approaching and he said he would have to put them under arrest and bring them before the Chief Marshal of Normandy at Lisieux seventeen miles away where they were received with great courtesy. Meanwhile, the women left Quilleboeuf in boats accompanied by some local people. They stopped overnight at a town called the Abbey of St.Georges. They were taken by coaches to Rouen about mid-day on Sunday. Meanwhile Maguire and the lords who were with him were under arrest in La Bouille, unaware of the fate of the womenfolk. Three men left La Bouille and travelled by boat to Rouen under

cover of darkness to inform the women of what was happening. The ladies were in fear and dread when they heard the news. Finally they learned that the Governor had written to the King of France seeking directions as to how to process the visitors.

Matthew Tully went post-haste to Paris. The King was returning from hunting when Matthew went into his presence. He spoke face to face with him, describing the adventures of the lords and how they were prohibited from traversing the kingdom of France until they had obtained the King's authority. The King respectfully and kindly said that he



From Quilleboeuf to Rome

had received letters concerning the gentlemen before that and that he had written to the governor about them. Matthew also spoke to the King's secretary who said that no harm would come to the princes because of their detention and that a friendly answer would have reached them before Matthew returned.

The ambassador of the King of England, Sir George Carew, was in Paris at this time. He was doing his best to injure the princes but the King gave him no audience for three days. After that, when he was assured that the lords were in a secure place, the King said they had left his jurisdiction. He would not do any injury to noblemen who were obliged to leave their paternal inheritance because of their faith and the injustice done to them. All Catholics were free to go without any interference through the Kingdom of France. The ambassador sent a messenger to London to announce to the King of England that the nobles had landed in France and that the King did not prevent them travelling through the country. The messenger was in Rouen in the same hostel as the ladies the night before the lords arrived.

When Matthew Tully came to Rouen, he learned that the orders were to proceed to Flanders first and not to go to Spain direct. He sent ahead of them to Flanders to tell Henry O'Neill, the Earl's son, who was a Colonel of an Irish regiment in Flanders, which was under the control of the King of Spain. Henry O'Neill was asked to meet them at the border between France and Flanders. He was also asked to procure a warrant and passport from the Archduke of Flanders similar to the documents issued by the King of France permitting them to travel to the border of his Kingdom.

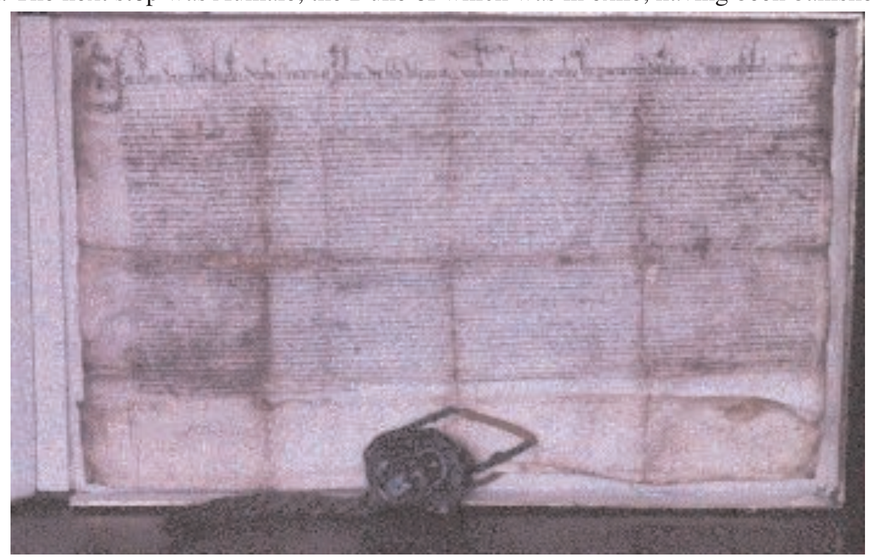
On Saturday October 13, the governor of Rouen visited the ladies and ordered them to leave the city. They expressed concern and grief and they were allowed to remain in the city until Monday. At the time of Vespers on Sunday the lords came to Rouen with the passport and warrant from the King of France

DEPARTURE FROM ROUEN

On October 15, they left Rouen with thirty-one on horseback, two coaches, three wagons and about forty on foot. The governor of Quilleboeuf and many of the gentry of the town came to conduct them a safe distance from the city. To pay their way, they gave him forty tons of salt which was in the ship when they arrived, although he had shown unkindness and unfeeling to them before that.

Beautiful and varied was the view of the fortified city of Rouen, with extensive shipping, an excellent quay and a great river which extends across the country to Paris. There were many beautiful islands in the river with vines and fruit trees. Around the river, there were the most level, the best inhabited and the most fruitful land that these Irish had ever traversed till then. There were thirty-three Catholic churches in the city and communities of fourteen monasteries of religious orders, with the most splendid and costly town hall in Christendom.

Outside Rouen, at the village of La Boissiere, Brian O'Neill's son, Aodh O'Neill became separated from the group. Maighethadh O'Neill returned to Rouen to search for him and they both joined the group at Arras. The Earls spent the night in a humble hostel and then travelled on to Neufchatel. There they heard High Mass with singing and music and had dinner. The next stop was Aumale, the Duke of which was in exile, having been banished



Patent of Earldom of Tyrconnell granted to Rory O'Donnell in February 1603/4 signed with old seal of Elizabeth 1 as new seal of James 1 was not ready. Now in possession of Count Von Tyrconnell of Austria.

by the King of France to Flanders. They travelled a further five miles to Poix where they got suitable accommodation. The King of France has a firm castle with strong defences in the town. The journey was not long but the country was hilly and barren, more marshy than what they had seen earlier.

AMIENS

They went the next day to an important famous city in France called Amiens, the gate of the defence of France a distance of six short leagues. They got detained for a time at the gate of the city till they got directions from the governor of the place. They entered afterwards. After dinner, they went to a beautiful gorgeous church called the Church of St. Mary. The head of John the Baptist was shown to them. It was in a glass of crystal, evident and visible to whomsoever would be present with many wonders and miracles. A pretty, strong, round city was that town; to it a river comes from the sea on which boats travel to the town with ease and the help of the tide. After their visit to the church, they took their good post-horses and proceeded to Flanders gate. Inside the walls of the city they saw a very strong fort being built by the people of the city with many labourers and workmen. Outside the walls, they saw the trenches and strong fortresses which were made by the King of France when Amiens was besieged.by him at the time it was in the possession of the King of Spain, being taken previously with skill and ability by three Irish companies.

They proceeded from thence five miles to a small village called Contay. They were uncomfortable that night. As they approached the frontier of France and Flanders some of them were somewhat afraid. Most of their people remained up in arms watching for them that night and although the pledges by word and honour of the King of France were sufficient,nevertheless they were afraid when they saw a large troop on horseback with good horses, coats of armour and pistols.

Early next morning they set off ready, two leagues from there to the boundary of France and Flanders. They were somewhat afraid of the journey. They entered the city of Arras on October 18 and found Maigbhethadh, who had separated from them leaving Rouen. They met the governor, who was appointed by the king of Spain, and the chief men of the city who received these lords with kindness and respect. They came to visit them and held a splendid banquet with wines in their honour. They sent a priest with beautiful coaches to direct them to the famous churches of the city. Many holy precious relics were shown to them, including a portion of the cross of the Crucifixion, the head of St. James, portion of the hair of Mary Magdalen, a cup out of which the Christ had drunk and numerous other things. Dr. Owen Mc Mahon came to meet them from Douai.

DOUAI

The city was strongly fortified and was more beautiful than Amiens. There was a splendid town hall in the middle of the city having a strong guard of the people of the town continually. There was another guard of the King's soldiers at the gates of the town by night and day. The church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. On the site of the church a bright waxen torch fell from heaven. The people of the city built a splendid

chapel inside the walls to protect the torch lest enemies should touch it. The torch remained lighted for two hundred years by day and night but not an inch of it was wasted. It still continues to work wonders and miracles. Thousands of people come to visit it on pilgrimage and pray to the Virgin Mary in its presence. It was shown to these nobles.

On Monday 21 of the same month, they said farewell to the people of the city and headed for Douai, where the people received them with great respect. They stayed at the Irish College that was supported by the King of Spain. They remained in the town until Friday having met Flaithri O' Maolconaire, Irish Provincial of the Friars Minor and Dr. Robert McArthur, who travelled from Flanders to see them. At Assemblies in the College, they were greeted with speeches in Latin, Greek and English. Around 1,200 people came to meet them in the Jesuit College.
Douai is an extensive city with unsightly houses and buildings, except for the colleges. A river runs through it and boats come from the sea. The province of Artois is rich and beautiful with much wheat and good fruit and very pretty woods.

TOURNAI

On Friday 26 of the month the princes travelled seven leagues to another great city, Tournai. On the way, they stopped at the burial place of an Irish saint, Saint Linard[1]. At the gate of the city, they saw a strong stone tower which was built by Julius Caesar when the city was besieged by him. The inhabitants defended the city against the Roman attack and according to commentaries; it was never taken or stormed by violence. The nobles were received kindly by the people of the city and had an audience with the archbishop, who was very kind to them. There is a beautiful river divided in three parts through the city with three well-made bridges and well-built houses. The King of Spain has a strong, fully defended castle in the town. There are 1,000 soldiers always guarding and watching the castle with everything they require by way of ordnance and ammunition. They have a splendid church inside so that there is no communication between them and the people of the city. As the roads from Douai to Tournai were dirty and the highways narrow and uneven, the writer and narrator of this narrative could not easily observe the country or the land along the route.

On Monday 28, they travelled to Ath, a small, pretty, fortified town seven leagues from Tournai. The governor of the town came outside the walls to receive them with respect and honour. He himself in person came to direct them to their hostels. All the ordnance was fired at once to welcome them. Captain John Blint happened to be in garrison in that town and he was gentle, kind and pleased to meet them.

Next day they travelled to Notre Dame de Hal. On their way, they passed through a pretty town which had been formerly in the time of war in the possession of the King of France. As the rent was of no use to the King, he accepted £50,000 from the Duke of Hal for the ownership of the town. It was called Enghien. They went that night to Notre Dame; it rained heavily on them throughout the journey.



William Blaeu's map of the world, 1665.

THE EARL AND THE COLONEL

The next day, October 30, O'Neill's son, who was a colonel in an Irish regiment called on them with a well-equipped company of captains and noblemen. On the following Saturday the Marquis Spinola, the commander-in-chief of the King of Spain's army in Flanders, came to them from Brussels with a large number of important people and welcomed them. He received them with honour and gave them an invitation to dinner for the next day in Brussels. They accepted the invitation. The Marquis went to pray in the church of Mary and immediately afterwards, the Archduke's secretary invited them to dinner the following Monday in Marimont, a hunting forest which he owned nine leagues outside the town. When the Marquis heard that, he took his leave and went back to Brussels. On Sunday morning, he sent them all the horses and coaches they needed so that they might be suitably provided going before the Archduke.

On Sunday November 4, the nobles departed after Mass with their retinue attending on horseback. They arrived at Nyval which was garrisoned by Philip 111 of Spain; the governor was also a Spaniard. They turned down an offer of supper with the governor and instead they were entertained by musicians and dancers.

MEETING THE ARCHDUKE

Next day, they travelled to Binche, the home of the Archduke. They were welcomed by

the Duke of Ossuna, the Secretary and Don Rodrigo, the major-domo of the Archduke. They visited the palace where they met the Infanta, the King of Spain's daughter; they were greeted at the door of the palace by the Archduke himself. They received them with honour and respect, with welcome and kindness and great courtesy. They spent a while in conversation and questioning one another. Afterwards, they took their leave. The Irish party then had dinner with the Duke of Ossuna and the Duke of Aumale along with other illustrious noblemen. They were treated with as much honour that night as on the first night.

The next night they proceeded to Notre Dame de Hal and spent the night there. Early next morning they went to Brussels where they were met by Colonel Francisco together with many Spanish, Italian, Irish and Flemish captains. They were escorted from their coaches by the Marquis himself, the Papal Nuncio, the Spanish Ambassador and the Duke of Ossuna. Afterwards they entered the dining area where the Marquis arranged each one in his place. O'Neill sat at the head of the table with the Papal Nuncio at his right, the Earl of Tyrconnell to his left, O'Neill's children and Maguidhir next the Earl and the Spanish Ambassador and the Duke of Aumole on the other side below the Nuncio. The dinner was excellent and grand enough for a king and nothing inferior was the banquet. Gold and silver plate were on display. They spent the night in conversation and afterwards returned to Notre Dame de Hal.

The next day they travelled to Binche, where the Archduke was. The Duke of Ossuna, the Secretary and Don Rodrigo, the major-domo of the Archduke, came with coaches and noblemen to meet them. The Duke himself went in their coach. When they arrived at the Palace, the Infanta, the King of Spain's daughter and the Archdduke came to meet them. They received them with great honour and respect and showed them great courtesy. The Duke of Ossuna, the Duke of Aumale and other noblemen went to dinner. They returned to Nyvel and the next day travelled on to Notre Dame de Hal.

The town of Notre Dame is small and badly fortified but no enemy ever succeeded in taking it. The town was saved from destruction by Mary the Wonder-worker, whose picture is venerated in the church. During an assault, when it was besieged by Gramoures, a lady wearing bright garments and a white napkin in her hand appeared before the enemy. She caught in her napkin all the bullets that were fired at the wall and no one was killed. Inside the walls of the town, she placed all the bullets from her napkin on the ground. They remained in the church to commemorate the great miracles which she worked.

LOUVAIN

On Friday November 9, O'Neill and the Earl and the nobles left Notre Dame de Hal and travelled to Louvain. O'Neill stayed in a hostel called "The Emperor's House" and the Earl stayed in another. They remained here for ten days. They were introduced to Sir William Stanley, an English warrior in the service of the king of Spain. Afterwards, they rented two beautiful palaces in the city, the rent of which was payable at the end of each month. On Sunday, November 25, the princes set out with a retinue of thirty horsemen with the intention of going to Spain. They left the women and some of the party in Louvain. At Iodoigne, they were met by the Archduke's cavalry which acted as escort.

Amid heavy showers of sleet, they made their way to Namur, where they were presented with letters from the Archduke ordering them not to proceed any further and to return to Louvain. There they stayed until February 28 of the following year.

There was heavy snow and frost at that time and horses, coaches and wagons could travel on all the lakes and rivers of the country. Only by God's grace could the Regular Orders of the Church perform their course of Masses, offices, sermons and prayers in the churches. An Irish father of the Order of Saint Francis, Dermot O'Conner stated that he endured such cold while celebrating Mass in the monastery that portion of his fingers shed large quantities of blood[2].

ANTWERP

There was a great sheet of ice on the river at Antwerp and the inhabitants of the city were accustomed to go out every day on the ice for amusement. On one occasion a sheet of ice broke free carrying the crowd down the river. There were cries for help and people on the banks threw ropes to those who were trapped and all except five persons reached safety.

The princes remained in Louvain over Christmas in pleasure and enjoyment with as much display and costliness as they could. The nobles of the city entertained them with music, dancers and performers. Spanish noblemen in the city came to visit them.

News arrived from Brussels that Cormac, O'Neill's brother had been sent to England and put in the Tower of London and that Lord Howth, and the Baron of Delvin were confined in the Castle of Dublin. Mac Mahon was killed in Ireland by an English governor based in Monaghan. Shortly afterwards, they were informed that Brian O'Neill was put to death by Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Justice of Ireland. Chichester was out to get revenge for attacks that Brian had made on him. The news was depressing but there was an occasion to rejoice when word was received that MacMahon was still alive.

On February 8 1608, the weather was damp and wet. The rivers began to thaw. One of the Earl's party saw a salmon in a stream near the palace and caught it. He gave the salmon to the Earl and all the nobles came to see it. They said it was the first time that a salmon was found in that part of the river in Louvain.

The princes remained in Louvain until the eighteenth of the same month. Then they went to Malines, a famous city in the province of Flanders, where they dined with Sir William Stanley. There is a large cathedral in the centre of the city built and ornamented with much labour and artistic work, having bright painted altars, beautiful statues and a belfry, said to be one of the largest in Christendom. There is a tomb of an Irish saint in the church; he was the son of a King of Ireland[3]. There are lighted torches over the tomb by day and by night. One of the finest hospitals in the world is to be found here, maintained by the King of Spain.

Next day they went to Antwerp and crossed the river Scheldt, which was covered with an enormous sheet of ice. They reached a fort in front of the city of Antwerp called "The Head of Flanders". They visited the castle at Antwerp, said to be one of the greatest fortresses in Christendom. It is surrounded by a river and it is heavily guarded by a thousand Spaniards. There are two large brass guns each thirty-six feet in length. No one is allowed to see the cannon, except Spanish or Irish people.

Next day, they viewed the walls of the town; the rampart and circuit is twenty-five feet thick. The river was covered with a great sheet of ice and twenty thousand persons were sporting and dancing on it at one time. Next morning they visited the Irish college in the city, where they heard High Mass that was sung with sweet, melodious organs and instruments of music of all kinds. The head of the college, a Spaniard named Patarcha invited them to a banquet, where he presented them with two images of the Virgin Mary. Following a visit to the house and gardens of the Burgomaster, they visited the glassworks. The city of Antwerp ranks among the richest, most beautiful and strongest city in the world. At mid-day they left the city and visited the castle of Willebroeck along the banks of a river. They visited another castle the following day at Vilvorde which is owned by the Archduke. Every nobleman who has been sentenced to death is brought to this castle if he is granted a concession that he shall not be put to death in public. No one knows what form of death they face but they never come out again.

That day they also went to Louvain which is beautiful and well-built with many churches and monasteries. The church of Saint Peter is in the centre of the city with an excellent white statue of the Virgin Mary and fifty splendid altars. Outside the city the Duke of Ascot has a pretty court with a fine church and gardens. On Thursday 28th of February, 1608, the princes, with their retinue set out for Italy in all thirty-two riding on horseback. The ladies had a coach. They left two of O'Neil's sons, Seán and Brian, the Baron, the Earl of Tyrconnell's son, Aodh, the son of Caffir, O'Coinne, Seán O'Hagan and others of the nobles and followers in Flanders with the Colonel.

NAMUR

They were escorted by a troop of the Archduke's cavalry to the town of Namur, where they were received by the governor with propriety and honour. He sent a company and a half of soldiers to escort them for fear the enemy might meet them. The road surface was uneven so they had to leave their coach behind and put the women on horseback. The King of Spain has a strong castle on a beautiful hill overlooking the city. They passed through Marche and on Sunday March 2, they arrived at Bastogne without escort. Their next stop was Arlon, which belonged to the King of Spain. On Tuesday, they left the jurisdiction of the king of Spain and arrived in the territory of the Duke of Lorraine, who had a strong fort built on the frontier. The same day they travelled to the town of Fillieres and then on to Conflans which has a difficult river with a strong current flowing through it. Fr. Thomas Strong and Maigbhethadh O'Neill were in danger of being drowned for the horse fell under each of them. They were obliged to swim across. Finally, they reached Nancy, the Duke's chief city, surrounded by a countryside with plenty of vines, wheat, forests and many houses. The Duke sent coaches and a nobleman from his castle to meet them. At the palace, they visited the beautiful gallery while the Duke was attending Mass.

After Mass, the Duke accompanied by pages and noblemen, welcomed them with joy and honour and entertained them to dinner. There was a party of six at the dinner table, the Duke and his two sons, O'Neill, the Earl and the Baron of Dungannon. Many honourable noblemen waited on them. All the expenses of the group were paid for by the Duke

NANCY

Nancy is a famous and distinguished capital city, with a deep trench around its wall, which is fourteen yards thick. On the south side of the city, a new court is being erected by the Duke. A great new town has been built around that new court and linked to the old city. There are two beautiful churches, a wealthy college, a good monastery and a community of Capuchins. The next day, the princes set out on coaches to the church of St. Nicholas, where one of the hands of the saint was shown to them. On Tuesday, March 11, they proceeded to the town of St.Die. The weather and the roads were very good throughout that period. The following day, they crossed the mountain of St. Martin, over hard difficult roads covered with ice. The Duke has a vast income from seven salt mines and vineyards. His country is thirty-five leagues in length and is like a garden in the very centre of Christendom, giving neither obedience or submission to any king or prince except God.

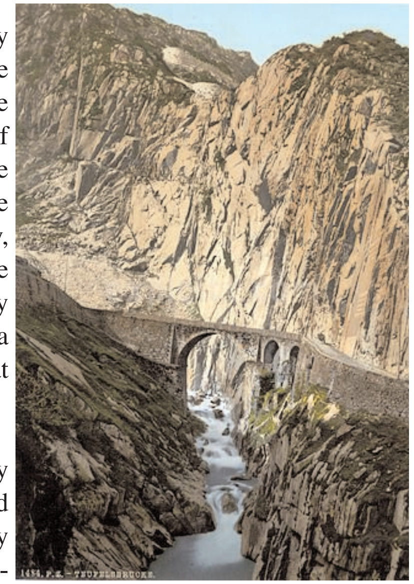
After leaving the German town of Bonhomme, they travelled two leagues across a mountain to Kaysersberg. Then they passed through a beautiful valley with a river, vines, good crops and pretty villages. Their next stop was Colmar, which is close to a beautiful plain inhabited by heretics. The next stage of the journey took them through a great, trackless, difficult and unfrequented wood to the river Campser, which separates Germany from Burgundy, which belongs to the Archduke. That night they reached a small town called Hotmers having travelled five leagues in all.

A few leagues further on, they reached Bale which has a fine bridge over the river. The people in the surrounding countryside are heretics. The church has images of Luther and Calvin and many other wicked evil writers. That city is an independent state in itself and no king in the world claims submission or authority in it. It alone is the main entrance to the land of the Swiss called Helvitia. Afterwards through fear of conspiracy by the heretics, they left the city. The road was even and beautiful advancing beside the river in a long rich valley. The following day, they passed through Sursee, Olten and Zoffingen, on the banks of the Rhine. In each town, custom was taken for their horses. The next day, they crossed over the Rhine by a very long bridge which had a very good roof over the whole length of it. In the Catholic town of Lucerne, there are three bridges over the river and the Papal Nuncio lives in the town. Both the party and the horses took to boats to cross a great lake called Alpnacher-See which is nine leagues in length and one in breadth. The lake is surrounded by the Alps.

CROSSING THE ALPS

The next day was the feast of St. Patrick and they spent the day in Silenen. Their route through the Alps was surrounded by snow and ice and the roads and paths were narrow and rugged. One of O'Neill's horses slipped at a place called the Devil's Bridge and fell down a snowy cliff. The horse was carrying some of O'Neill's money, about £120. They recovered the horse but the money was lost and the search was hampered by heavy snow and ice. That night they stayed in a small town called Piedimonte. Their journey that day was six leagues.

They had difficulty travelling the next day because of the heavy snow, and they were obliged to use oxen and sleighs.At the town of Faido, they met a local earl who provided dinner. Each member of the party paid no more than a half-crown.



The Devil's Bridge

LUGANO

At Lake Lugano, separating Italy from Switzerland, the party and their horses were taken across on boats. There is a splendid chapel on the very summit of the mountain erected and built in honour of St. Gotthard. Nearby there is a convenient hostel in which strangers and those who pass this way get supplies to buy. After that, they went through a very beautiful valley until they reached a gate called the Gate of Hell. Over it is written in Italian that no one should go under it or past it without paying custom. The next day they continued to advance through the Alps until they came to Mount Ceneri. The roads are uneven, stony and rough. Next they came to a beautiful valley called Lugano. The party and the horses travelled by boat across the Lake Lugano which separates Italy from Helvetia, the land of the Swiss. They travelled forty-six leagues in the land of the Swiss. The country is strong, well fortified, uneven, mountainous and extensive. No king or prince has any claim over it.

There are fourteen important cities in the land of the Swiss, half of which are Catholic and half heretic. The people are honest and faithful to their promises. Because of this, they act as guards for the kings and princes of Christendom. They reached the Italian city of Como, beside a lake of the same name.

MILAN

After Mass on Sunday 23 March, they travelled to Milan. A famous soldier, the Count of Fuentes was chief governor; he was also representative of the King of Spain and ruled all of Lombardy. He sent the King's ambassador to welcome them. They met the Count himself and stayed three weeks in the city. It is a place of great beauty and has been compared to Rome and Naples. The castle has one thousand Spanish sol-

diers and five hundred guns. Cardinal Borromeo, who was archbishop of Milan for nine years, is buried before the altar. Everyone expects he will soon be canonised[4]. The earls visited the church on Good Friday, where they saw a splendid procession of men carrying lighted torches; their faces were covered and they were scourging and whipping their bodies. There are two hundred and forty three churches in the city, with many relics of the saints and holy people. Each patron day the tradesmen of the city come in procession and distribute alms at the cathedral. The lords said goodbye to the Count de Fuentes on 12 April 1608. He gave them gifts of rapiers and daggers.

Their next stop was the ancient city of Piacenza on the river Po, which separates the Duke of Parma's territory from Lombardy. In Parma, they met the Duke, who brought them to his castle which is defended by twenty thousand soldiers. In the town of Reggio, they saw a picture of the Virgin Mary who is continually working miracles.

BOLOGNA

On Tuesday 15 April 1608, they passed through Bolonga, a city of large palaces and churches, one of which contains the body of Saint Dominic. On Wednesday, they passed through a fort called Castel Bolognese belonging to the Pope. The following day, they came to Rimini and saw the Adriatic for the first time. The city is twenty miles from Venice. They came to the city of Cattolica; the roads are very good. The Pope has many towers to defend the city against the Turks.

On Sunday of the same month, they travelled through Pesaro, which belongs to the Duke of Urbino. Next day they arrived at Ancona where the Pope has strong castles. They spent the night at Loreto and made a pilgrimage to the famous church. They also visited the holy house of Loreto, which is associated with the Virgin Mary and many miracles have taken place. Everyone believes that Loreto is the most honoured house in all the world.[5] O'Neill and O'Donnell viewed the treasures of the house which have come from all over Christendom. Leo X built a strong rampart with fortified towers for the defence of the church. Whoever performs the pilgrimage must do it with earnest devotion and not for any temporal purpose. After they completed their pilgrimage, O'Neill and O'Donnell, their lords and nobles said goodbye to Loreto and set out for Rome on Wednesday 23 April 1608.

ASSISI

On the way, they passed through a number of towns until they came to Assisi. The Earl, Baron O'Neill, Maguire and Caffir O'Donnell, accompanied by a party of nobles made a pilgrimage in the city. It is here that the body of Saint Francis rests. His body is preserved and venerated in a vault and is supported supernaturally without touching the ground. They were welcomed by the order of Minors in the monastery. Afterwards, they set out to overtake O'Neill. O'Neill went on to Montefalco where the body of Saint Claire can be seen. She was the daughter of the Duke of Lombardy. Her body has not undergone much change, although she died two hundred years ago. She holds a crucifix in her hands and is guarded by a group of nuns. After completing the pilgrimage here, O'Neill moved on to Spoleto. The rapid torrent from the mountain frequently does harm to the inhabitants.



Bologna Fountain admired by the Earls

There are fourteen splendid churches one of which belongs to the Order of Saint Francis, which has the most beautiful altar in that part of the world.

WELCOME AT ROME

Finally, on 29 April 1609, they came in sight of the belfries and walls of Rome. They rested at Prima Porta, which is eight miles from the city. Some members of the party went ahead of them to Rome. After that they went two leagues to Ponte Molle where Peter Lombard, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, came with a noble young man in his company to welcome them. The cardinals sent several coaches out to meet them. The steward of a certain number of cardinals came to greet them in the cardinals' name. They got on board the coaches. They entered the city by the Porta del Populo. They went on after that in great splendour through the principal streets of Rome. They did not rest until they reached the great church of St. Peters in the Vatican. They put up their horses there and entered the church. They worshipped and went on a pilgrimage of the seven altars. Afterwards, they went to a splendid palace which His Holiness the Pope had set apart for them in the Borgo Vecchio Santo Spirito. They had fifteen coaches, all except a few, drawn by six steeds as they traversed the long, chief streets of the city. After their journey and their travel, they rested and kept still until the following Sunday recovering from their weariness and exhaustion.

On 4 May, the day of the week being Sunday in the year of the Lord 1608, His Holiness the Pope consented to their coming in person into his presence at three o'clock in the afternoon. The cardinals sent a number of coaches and some of the most beautiful horses in the world to collect them. They went to the splendid palace which is called Monte Cavallo. The Holy Father, Pope Paul V, was waiting there for them. They were about one

hour in his presence and he was courteous, glad and kind to them, asking them about what occurred to them and how they had fared. They took their leave after receiving holy benediction. Afterwards, they visited Cardinal Borghese, the son of the Pope's sister. They also met the Pope's two brothers and the ambassador to the King of France. They rested until the next Thursday.

When they had recovered from the fatigue of their journey, they proposed to make a visit to the cardinals, one after another in their own palaces. In all they met thirty-seven cardinals who all made them welcome. There were five others in the city whom they were unable to see.

On Ascension Thursday, 15 May 1608, the Pope gave a general benediction to all Catholics who chance to come before him. On that day, the princes had decided to visit the palace of Cardinal Ascoli. They saw the Holy Father approaching on a high balcony at the side of the palace. He was carried on a chair covered with gold and red velvet and on his head, there was a crown of red gold. His guard of Swiss soldiers was on either side of him. After the blessing, there was a blare of trumpets and the ordnance of the palace was fired. Afterwards, Cardinal Ascoli gave them a splendid and costly banquet.

PILGRIMAGE



Rome

On the following Saturday, 18 May 1608, the Earl and a number of nobles made the pilgrimage of the seven churches of Rome. On the eve of Pentecost Sunday, the Pope held solemn Vespers to which the princes were invited. The Earl was feverish and could not attend. A place of honour was reserved for O'Neill close to the Holy Father. On Whit Sunday, there was a station in the church of Santo Spirito, where the princes attended Mass. On Monday, the orphans of that church went in a splendid procession to the church of San Pietro. They were styled "the Pope's children," for scarcely anyone knew the

fathers of many of them. Through a special iron grating each child is introduced into the church before it is four days old. All of them who have not received baptism by that time are baptised. The "veronica" was exhibited to the children. This is the napkin used by Veronica during the Stations of the Cross. The young girls were dressed in good clothes. Some of them were married that day and the Pope paid their dowry. Over 2,000 people held a banquet in the church of Santo Spirito afterwards.

The church was built by a certain nation in Germany called Saxony. Pope Sixtus 1V added many buildings to it and the rents were the equivalent of twenty thousand crowns. The Roman state exacted two thousand crowns monthly. 10,000 persons are given support from the income of the church.There is a splendid hospital in the church with skilful physicians and doctors. A great abbey within its walls is also supported from the church income. The church owns large acreages of vines and teams of horses.

On Thursday 29 May, 1608, Cardinal Borghese invited the lords to Mass in the great church of St. Peter. The Pope was the celebrant and a woman called St. Francesca Romana was canonised. After Mass, as the Pope went back to his palace, the trumpets of the guard were sounded and drums beaten. At the ceremony the Pope was presented with a silver bucket, a pair of doves, a golden bottle full of wine and a gilded loaf of bread.

PAPAL AUDIENCE

On the Trinity Sunday following, the ladies went into the presence of His Holiness the Pope. He received them with honour and affability. One after the other they kissed his foot. He gave them a blessing and they returned home. Later that day, a greater part of the Orders and the young clerics of Rome came in a grand procession to the church of St. Peter. The people of Rome lit fires in their palaces and at the doors of their houses with many candles and bright torches over their dwellings. The top of the castle of St. Angelo was covered with lights of many colours. Images of an eagle and a dragon were made and filled with powder on the inside. About the time of the striking of the bell for the Ave Maria in the evening, fires were lighted in these strange wonderful figures. Then they burst forth in flames.

CORPUS CHRISTI PROCESSION

On the Thursday of Corpus Christi an order came from the Holy Father to the princes that eight of their noblemen should carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament while it was being borne solemnly in the hands of the Pope in procession from the church of St. Peter to the church of St James in Borgo Vecchio. They carried the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament and never before did Irishmen receive such an honour and privilege. The Italians were greatly surprised that they should be shown such deference and respect for some of them said that never before was any one nation in the world allowed to carry the canopy. In the procession there were a thousand lighted waxed torches. There were twenty-six archbishops and bishops and thirty-six cardinals.

On the Saturday following, Cúchonnacht Maguire set out for Naples which is under the control of the King of Spain forty-one leagues from Rome. Séamus, son of Eimher, son



San Pietro Montorio, interior, Rome.

of Cú Uladh, MacMahon and a few others went with him.

On Thursday the tenth of the same month, O'Neill and the Earl and the rest of the party set out on a pilgrimage of the seven great churches of Rome. The pilgrimage began at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. They were shown the head of Saint Bibiana, the head of Marcellinus the Pope, one of the hands of Thomas the Apostle, the cradle in which Our Saviour lay in Bethlehem of Juda and the first clothes which the Virgin put around him in his infancy.

After that, they came to the church of St.Laurence, one mile outside the walls of Rome. The were shown one of the stones with one of which Stephen the Martyr was stoned and the flag on which the body of Saint Laurence was laid after having been roasted on a grid-iron. In the same church, there are the bodies of Saint Laurence and Saint Stephen the Martyr.

The princes went inside the walls of the city again and performed the pilgrimage to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. They saw a number of objects including one of the thirty talents for which Christ was betrayed by Judas Iscariot. Their next visit was to Saint John Lateran , the chief church of the archbishop of Rome, who is the Pope. They were shown a number of relics including the tooth of St. Peter and a shoulder of Saint Laurence. Among the objects they were shown was the head of Peter and the head of Paul which are kept in a stout grate of iron over the chief altar of the church. There are four very bright columns before the high altar made of brass and brightly gilt on the outside. Neat the church there is a great hospital which was erected by an old noble family of the Romans, the Colonnas.

SANCTA SCALA

After a visit to the church of St John the Baptist, which was given by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester, they visited Sancta Scala, the "Holy Stair". There are twenty-eight steps and it is constructed in long, broad, bright, marble stones. It was in the special place in which Pilate was, in the city of Jerusalem, that it was first erected. Christ was brought up this stair bound and fettered to meet Pilate. A trace of the blood of Christ remains on the stair covered by an iron grate. At the end of the stair there are three doors of white marble from Pilate's palace in Jerusalem. The Lord passed through theses three doors before he appeared before Pilate. In front of the stair is a splendid tabernacle called Sancta Sanctorum. All persons who ascend the Holy Stair do so on their knees.

The princes set out afterwards to the church named San Sebastiano. On their way they went to the chapel which is named Domine Quo Vadis. (Lord, whither goest Thou?) These words were spoken by Peter when he met the Saviour here and promised to endure death and martyrdom for his sake. Peter remained in the city until he was put to death. The church was built by Saint Lucina in honour of Saint Sebastian; their bodies are buried in the church. There is a splendid chapel in that church where the body of Peter and Paul were kept for a long time. After that, they went to Caffarella which has a marble table and a large number of streamlets of pure cold water. Having dined there, they went to the church of Mary the Annunciation. They also visited the church of Tre Fontane where Paul was beheaded. Nearby is the monastery of Scala Coeli, the "Ladder of Heaven". From there they went to the church of St. Paul and performed the pilgrimage of its seven chief altars

ST. PETERS



St. Peters

Their next visit was to the church of St. Peter in the Vatican. On their way they went to a little chapel called after Peter and Paul. When Peter and Paul were taken prisoner they were conducted out of the city to that place. They took leave of each other. Then Paul was brought to be beheaded to Tre Fontane, as there was a law that no Roman should be put to death except outside the city. Peter was a Gallilean and he was brought inside the walls of the city to a high hill, one of the seven chief hills of Rome which is called Janiculum. They led him to an eminence on the hill which is called Montorio. He was crucified upside down by his own request. A very beautiful monastery was built in that place in honour of Peter by Ferdinand, King of Spain and its name to this day is San Pietro Montorio. It is held today by the Order of St. Francis. Pope Paul 111 granted many indulgences to those who visit the church. This is stated on a marble stone which is over the lintel of the chapel in the cloister of the monastery in the exact spot where Peter was put to death.

When they had completed the pilgrimage of the seven privileged altars of the church of St.Peter, the head of Saint Andrew was shown to them. All the high arches of the church interior are gilt. There is a covering of lead on the outside. At the end of the pilgrimage the princes went to their palace recovering from their weariness and fatigue which was pious for their souls though full of labour for their bodies.

Here we shall say a few words about Rome as we have lived here for a long time now. There are 246 churches in it excluding the seven chief churches. One of these is a very beautiful church, Sant'Onofrio, built on a hill near the palace where the lords lived. There are views of the Tiber and portion of the Alps. It is run by the Order of Saint Benedict.

On 29 June 1608, on the feast of Saint Peter, the ambassador of the King of Spain came with the revenue of the King of Naples to the Pope. He came in a procession of five or six hundred horsemen with coaches and footmen in splendid livery. At the head of the procession was a beautiful white horse with a saddle covered with cloth of gold and a large purse hanging from his neck containing the revenue of Naples.

DEATH IN ROME

It was a wearisome and unusual experience for the Earl of Tyrconnell, the son of O'Neill and the son of O'Donnell to spend so long without moving out of Rome. They proposed and determined that they should leave it for a time and should take a holiday. The three set out taking a page and a footman. Alas! Their trip was attended with ill luck and misfortune. They went to Ostia, a town on the bank of the Tiber, fifteen miles from Rome. They stayed for two days on both sides of the river. Rev. Dr. Domhnall O'Cearbhaill followed them. The noblemen returned to Rome and it was generally agreed that Ostia was one of the worst and most unhealthy climates in Italy.

Indeed, it was not long until it proved so for them for the Earl took a hot, fiery violent fever on Friday18 July 1608 . On Saturday, Caffir, the son of O'Domhnall caught the same fever. On Monday afterwards, the Baron and Domhnall O'Cearbhaill fell ill. The page and the footman became ill shortly afterwards. The Earl had a violent sickness and a great fever for a period of eleven days. He made his confession and received Holy



Vista San Pietro with Columbus Hotel, brown building on left where Earls stayed, according to the late Cardinal Tomás Ó'Fiaich.

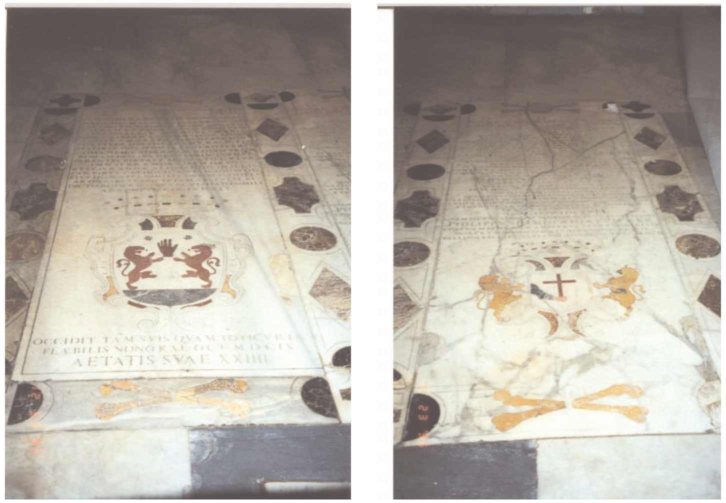
Communion. His soul separated from his body and he died about midnight on Monday. On the following Tuesday, 28 July, the feast of St. Martha, the Earl was buried in the monastery of San Pietro Montorio. A large and splendid procession was ordered by His Holiness the Pope and on either side of his body there were lighted waxen torches and sweet, sad, sorrowful singing. It was enwrapped in the habit of St. Francis, as he had requested. Muiris, the Earl's page, died on 3 August 1608. On the eighteenth of the same month, Domhnall O'Cearbhaill, Doctor of Divinity, the son of Uaithne O'Cearbhaill of Magh Dreithne in Urmhumha died et cetera.

After seven weeks in Naples, Maguire went to Spain. He set out from Naples in the direction of Genoa and stayed near Ostia, where the noblemen were affected by the injurious climate. A raging fever seized Maguire and Seamus, son of Eimher, son of Cú Uladh Mag Mathghamhna. They both died in Genoa on 12 August 1608; there was only six hours between the two deaths. A large number of noblemen came in splendid procession; they were buried in the Franciscan habits in the great monastery of the Friars Minors in the city.

The Baron and the son of O'Domhnaill were suffering from fever meanwhile. By orders of the doctors, they were brought to the splendid palace of Monte Citorio. The son of O'Domhnaill died on 15 September 1608. It may well be believed that it was not through good fortune or the best of fate that it happened to Ireland that so many of the choicest of the descendants of Míl Easpáinne died suddenly, one after the other, in a foreign and strange land, far removed from their own native soil. The son of O'Domhnaill was buried in the habit of St. Francis, after a great funeral, with a splendid cortege in procession, in the same monastery of San Pietro Montorio, in the same manner as the Earl and close to his tomb.

D.O.M

To Hugh, Baron Dungannon
Eldest son of the Prince, the Great Hugh O'Neill
Earl of Tyrone.
For his remarkable loyalty to God and also to his parents
He followed his father
And Rory, the Earl of Tír Chonaill, his uncle and
Leaving their estates they deliberately went
Into exile to the city of Rome, the usual safe
Refuge for Catholics on behalf of the Catholic
Faith which they had strongly defended for
Many years against the heretics of Ireland.
His lamentable death dashed the hopes which all had placed
In him for his exemplary talents and distinction of soul and
Body so propitious for a future favourable return to that



Tombs of the Earls, San Pietro Montorio, Rome.

Country once again.
He is joined in death here with Rory the afore-mentioned
Uncle, who was also taken by death
In the same manner, to the inexpressible grief of
His relatives and all the court
On 24 September 1609 in his 24th year.

NOMENCLATURE

Vincent O'Donnell

To those unfamiliar with the Gaelic language and how names, both of people and of places, became anglicized, the following is intended. When Gaelic was the only language in Ireland things were simple except for spelling which hadn't been standardised. As English became dominant, proper names were anglicized for two reasons. Firstly, foreigners had problems with the pronunciation and secondly, it was the policy to make Ireland a British colony and to remove all vestiges of Gaelic civilisation. Seemingly, no standards were set so that the anglicised versions and spelling vary. In some cases the

transformation was phonetic e.g. Eoghan Rua > Owen Roe, otherwise an English variant was used, e.g. Aodh Rua > Red Hugh.

Some family names such as Ó Baoighill, Ó Dochartaigh and Ó Gallchobhair became O'Boyle, O'Doherty and O'Gallagher but the 'O' was still considered Gaelic and was eventually dropped. Here follows some names, regularly appearing in Donegal history, along with their anglicised forms –

HUGH MAC CAFFER = Hugh, son of Caffer (in this case 'Mac Caffer' is not a surame

Aedh, Aodh = Hugh	**Ó Néill** = O'Neill
Cathbhar = Caffar, Caffer	**Ó Domhnaill** = O'Donnell
Donal, Domhnall = Donnell, Daniel	**Ó Ruairc** = O'Rourke
Niall = Neal, Nial	**Mac Suibhne** = MacSwine, Mac Sweeney, Sweeney
Seán = Shane, John	**Mac an Bháird** = Ward
Mánus, Maghnus = Manus	**Mac Uidhir** = Maguire
Calbhach = Calvagh	**Ó Cléirigh** - O'Cleary, Clarke
Ruadhraí = Rory, Rury	
Conall = Con, Conn, Connell	**Ua, Ó** = O (grandson or descendant of)
Gofraigh - Godfrey	**Ní** = (granddaughter or descendant of)
Feidhlimí = Felim	**Mac** = Mac, Mc (son or descendant of)
	Nic = (daughter or descendant of)
Dubh = Black, Duv, Duff (black, dark)	
Rua = Red, Roe (hair, complection)	**Tír Chonaill** = Tyrconnell (Land of Connell)
Óg = Oge (young, junior)	**Tír Eoghain** = Tyrone (Land of Owen)
Mór = More (big, great, senior)	
Beag = Beg (small, junior)	
Buí = Boy (yellow)	
Garbh = Garve (rough)	

but denotes relationship, likewise DONAL MAC DONAL O'DONNELL = Donal, son of Donal O'Donnell; there was no clear-cut policy regarding the anglicisation of personal names and there was no standard spelling: that was left to the official who happened to be writing or recording it. Thus one Gaelic surname may have several English versions e.g. Mac Aodh = McHugh, Magee or McGee; Mac Ruaidhri = McGrory, Magroary or Rodgers.

Vincent O'Donnell is President of Donegal Historical Society. He is the editor of *O'Donnells of Tír Chonaill, A Concise History of the O'Donnell clan,* (Letterkenny, 1997). Tadhg Ó Cianáin was a scribe from Fermanagh and a member of the Maguire household. He wrote the diary in Irish in 1609 in Rome, two years after the Flight. He writes as an observer with an eye for detail. In 1916, Rev. Paul Walsh wrote *The Flight of the Earls,* an English translation of the manuscript, which at that time was in the care of the Franciscan community in Dublin. This is an abridged version of the English translation by Fr. Walsh. The Walsh translation is accompanied by detailed footnotes.

Acknowledgements: Maps –Michael McCarthy, cartographer; Dr. Jim McLaughlin, Moville and University College, Cork, Arthur Spears for tomb inscription.
Photos : Editor, Vincent O'Donnell, John M. Beattie.

1 According to the Franciscan historian, this is an error as the Saint was in fact French.
2 O'Connor was from Keenagh in Co Derry.
3 St. Rumoldus, whose feast day is July 1.
4 He was canonised on 1 November 1610.
5 For a full description of some of the miracles at Loreto, see Fr. Paul Walsh's translation in the *Flight of the Earls*, published at Maynooth in 1916.

REFLECTION ON THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

Eunan O'Donnell,
Barrister-at-Law

'The age of chivalry is gone', so wrote Edmund Burke in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). We might adapt these famous words and say of the symbolism of the Flight of the Earls, 'The age of aristocracy is gone'**.**

'THE AGE OF ARISTOCRACY IS GONE'

New Webster's Dictionary (1992) defines *Aristocracy* as: 'government by a small, privileged, hereditary class, drawn from the leading families in the state; the members of such a governing class, in particular those who bear titles of nobility (even when they no longer control government); (in Plato and Aristotle) government by those whose character best fits them for the task; the best or most prominent of any class'[1]

The O'Donnell family were the most prominent of their aristocratic class in the territory (Tír Chonaill) which was named after their ancestor, Conall, the son of the High King of Ireland, Niall of the Nine Hostages[2](who reigned from 379-405 A.D.), for well over a thousand years. They were always royalty/aristocracy, nothing less, since their arrival from Spain as descendants of Milesius. They were sub-kings of the territory of Cinéal Lugdach (Luighdheach)[3] for centuries, until their rise to become outright elected kings of Tír Chonaill from the time of Éignechán (reign 1200-7). Éignechán's son, Domhnall (reign 1208-41), who was described as 'King of Tír Chonaill, Fir Mhanach (Fermanagh), Cairbre (in county Sligo), and Oirghialla from the plain northwards (that is the county Monaghan area)'[4] was the 'world mighty' ancestor from whom the family derived its surname – Ó Domhnaill – 'grandson of Domhnall'. The family were elected kings of Tír Chonaill from the beginning of the thirteenth century up until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the last of the O'Donnells, Niall Garbh (1603-1626) became the last head of the O'Donnell family inaugurated[5] at their inauguration site of Doon[6]. But, the title of king was no longer used in their annalist obits by the end of the reign of Aodh Dubh (reign 1505-37)[7] The encroachment of the English politically upon their territory occurred from the 'surrender and regrant' policies of the 1540s onwards. The policy of the famous Red Hugh (Aodh Ruadh)(reign 1592-1602) saw a re-emergence of the expansionist policies of earlier O'Donnells. His controlling expansionist policies saw him carry out raids, and take tributes from territories down into the present counties of Leitrim, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, and Clare. He was a new king, if fate had not intervened.

The defeat at Kinsale (1602, Gregorian Calendar), the subsequent Treaty of Mellifont (1603), the 'divide and conquer policy' of the English, the Stuart policy of exterminating and annihilating the ancient aristocracy of Tír Chonaill and Ulster[8], meant that the *fin-de-*

siècle observer of seventeenth century Tír Chonaill, could rightly say that the 'age of aristocracy is gone'. The Flight of the Earls is symbolic – like the 'Storming of the Bastille' in late eighteenth century France, it symbolised the end of royalty, aristocracy and nobility in Tír Chonaill. The blood of kings was displaced by commoners and mere soldiers, military men, and families of lesser rank who were given the castles, the vast tracts of land of the O'Donnells and the lands of other aristocratic and noble families of Tír Chonaill. It is reminiscent of what happened to the Habsburgs in 1918, when Emperor Karl and his Empress Zita were forced to flee to Madeira, penniless, and deprived of their possessions. Centuries of power and privilege swept away very suddenly. The O'Donnell family suffered similarly in their fate. It must have been as galling for the seventeenth century aristocratic O'Donnells as for the eighteenth century French royalty and aristocracy who watched their castles, lands, possessions, monasteries, and wealth being taken over by the common mob[9].

The subsequent justification of the Plantation, along the version of the King James Bible [10] that it brought reform and civility to a barbarous people" was the attempt similar to the sponsoring by Robespierre and the Revolutionary French of propagandist paintings by Jacque Louis David to justify the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. A classic example is Donegal Town, which is often cited as the reforming influence of Captain Basil Brooke. 'In March 1612 he agreed to 'set apart a convenient place for the site of the said town to be built' and 'for the market place…church and church-yard'. The town should consist of twenty burgesses, 'besides cottagers and other inferior inhabitants' to be accommodated with houses and lands within four years. In addition thirty acres should be set aside for common, to be called the burgess-field, and two acres for a school and exercise ground.'[11] Compare this with the Donegal Town under the O'Donnells: 'The market at Donegal was frequented by merchants, but especially the O'Creans of Sligo and the Lynchs of Galway. Quite an amount of evidence survives for Donegal. The *Annals of the Four Masters* indicate that not only was there a large castle here, but a smaller one as well and two monasteries. The same source refers to another house belonging to the Franciscans known as Mur na mBrathair, which may have been a hospital. These annals also record a lime-kiln hill and hint at a substantial population – an entry for 1575 stating that a riot of the local inhabitants occurred…*The Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* refers to a great hall built by the Franciscans, while the *Short Annals of Tír Chonaill* record the existence of a 'faithe' or fairgreen, which may explain the presence of so many merchants in the town…However the best evidence of the centre as a real town occurs in a letter written by King James IV of Scotland in 1507, when he refers to Donegal as '*oppido* Drumnangall'. This is an interesting Latin term, being a learned classical reference to the great urban sites of the Celts of ancient Gaul. Donegal exhibited many of the characteristics of an urban central place. It possessed a defensive function, a complex religious organisation, a diversified economic base, as well as a socially differentiated population'[12] .Donegal Town and Tír Chonaill under the O'Donnells was outward looking, visionary, and European in its perspective. MacEiteagáin's article emphasises their wealth, their cultural appreciation of learning, books, and poetry, their castles and monastery building projects, their well-established trade links with ports such as Bristol, St. Malo and Morlaix in Brittany, Ayr, Wigtown and Glasgow in Scotland, France, Spain

and Denmark.[13] In contrast, the Plantation settlement triangulated itself into introversion.

The reflection on the Flight of the Earls must now turn to the response by that most learned and high ranking class, the erudite poets. Then it must reflect on the O'Donnells who remained and clear up misunderstanding which have been perpetuated erroneously. Finally, I reflect on the final resting place of the Earls in Rome.

THE POETS' RESPONSE TO THE FLIGHT

I love the contrast in depiction of the Flight, as portrayed by Declan Kiberd[14], when he states:

The image of their boat taking to the waters entered Irish iconography as an emblem of desolation: 'with these/ our very souls pass overseas'. Subsequent accounts develop the emotion evoked in Mac an Bhaird's poem: 'it is said that, as the ship that carried them away set sail down Lough Swilly, a great cry of lament and farewell went up from their followers left upon the shore'[15]. . .The radical novelist Peadar O'Donnell laughed out loud on reading Flower's lines: for, according to the folk memory of his people, the peasantry of Donegal and Derry stood on the shores of Lough Swilly and cheered as the boat moved away.[16]

The poets who reflected on the Flight convey the depth and symbolism of this cataclysmic event. They provide us with the catafalque upon which the body of aristocratic Ireland is viewed. From this great tradition of poetry which had its apogee from 1200-1600s, there is a large corpus of work on the Flight and the pre-Flight period when Rudhraighe travelled to receive his new title of Earl of Tyrconnell. The noble and wealthy bardic poets were well educated and trained for twelve years under the guidance of an ollamh (professor) .[17] The poet sat next to the king at banquets. The poet's poetry acted as a mirror of the king's rule; and he had the power to praise or denounce. The poet was from a hereditary family of poets, appointed by the king. The Ward family were hereditary poets to the O'Donnells.

In their poems surrounding the Flight, they bemoan the fall of the House of O'Donnell, the fall of the ancient royalty and aristocracy in Ireland, the fall of their own status, and finally, théy bemoan the fate which has befallen Ireland[18]. I have chosen two poems of Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird (Owen Ward) - 'On a Peace Conference in 1603' and 'Heartrending News', one poem of Eochaidh O hEóghusa – 'On a change in Literary Fashions', one poem of Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh – 'The Death of Ireland', and two poems of Fearghal Og Mac an Bhaird - 'The Downfall of the O'Donnells' and 'A Begging Letter'[19.] to show the response of the poets to the Flight.

Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird's poem 'On a Peace Conference in 1603' was written while Rudhraighe was in Dublin in 1603, post his surrender, after he received news of the death of his brother, Aodh Ruadh (Red Hugh). Mac a Bhaird apparently disapproved of the surrender and the negotiations which followed it. He calls Rudhraighe 'O'Donnell's son'. not 'O'Donnell'[20] as it was Niall Garbh who became 'O'Donnell' due to his election as such on the death of Aodh Ruadh. Almost like a Greek chorus, seeing all, yet helpless to the calamity which awaits, the poem opens with the journey to the negotiations:

I *…geall re hoighidh an eachtra,*
doiligh earr na huaisleachta

…The expedition is equal to a tragic fate:
hard is the end of nobility.

II *Le leathrom cogaidh Chráoi Fhloinn*
do mealladh mac Ui Dhomhnoill,
ag triall ré haigneach n-anba
i ccaidreabh fhían n-eachtranda.

By the hard fortune of the war of Flann's Fold[21]
O'Donnell's son has been beguiled,
travelling with high spirit
in the company of outland soldiery.

The poet in the two final stanzas makes it known that Nuala[22], the Earl's sister, and former wife of Niall Garbh, has some foreboding as it were about this political development.

The second of Eoghan's poems which I have chosen is 'Heartrending News'. Bergin comments that 'the poet seems to have had some difference with his patron, but his private resentment and his personal grief are now swallowed up by a sense of the national ruin'[23]. The poem was written when news came of the Earl of Tyrconnell's illness[24]. It opens with the line 'Truagh do chor a chroidhe tim/ Sad is thy plight, O feeble heart'. The poet laments both the fall of the Earl 'that the hand of O'Donnell of Dún ós Sáimh has fallen in Italy/ Lámh Í Dhomhnuill Dúna ós Sáimh d'easgor más fhíor san Eadáill.' He laments that the Earl should be taken from the 'journey he has purposed, and from the land of Banbha/ achd don triall tarla roimhe, 's d'iath Bhanbha go mbeanfoidhe.'[25]The poet's greatest lament is for the trouble of Ireland on hearing this heart-rending news:

XI *Gibé mar tá ar reacadh ruin*
dá gcluineadh críoch Clann gConuill,
do mheasfadh a míobhuadh féin,
an easghlan shíodhfhuar shoilléir.

However it be, if the land of the Children of Conall should hear what I have been told, she would think it her own ruin, that bright land of clear waterfalls and cool mounds.

The poet beseeches God to look favourably upon the Earl and the poet himself:

XIV *An Coimsidh do-chí bhar ndáil,*
a chríoch Mhac Míleadh Easbáinn,
go bhfégha ort is oirne,
sgéla ar olc nár fhaghoimne.

The Lord who seeth thy condition, O land of the Sons of Míl from Spain, may He look upon thee and upon me, may we get no ill news!

In the final stanza, the poet wishes that his former patron's illness will leave him:

XVI *Easgar láimhe laoich Éirne*
tug ar chridhibh coimhéirghi:
an teidhm tárra go ttí uadh,
ní bhí achd námha léan neamhthruagh.

The fall of the hand of the warrior of the Erne has caused hearts to swell: may the sickness he has caught depart from him – none but an enemy is unsaddened thereat.

In contrast, the poem '*On the Change in Literary Fashions*' by O hEóghusa, written in 1603, when Rudhraighe travelled to England to receive the title of Earl of Tyrconnell, deals with the effect of the changes in Gaelic society in an adaptable manner. The sometime poet to the Maguires, addresses the topic of the changes to his learned class due to the demise of the old aristocracy, henceforth they might win a precarious living by competing with strolling musicians. But, to him the change for his class is to be 'commended'.

In '*The Death of Ireland'*, written circa 1609 Ó Gnímh believes Ireland is dead, and that it only remains to pray for her soul. His litany of the great royal and aristocratic house is a litany of sorrow – the O'Donnells, O'Neills, MacCarthys, O'Rourkes, Maguires, the O'Connors, O'Mores, O'Carrols and O'Kellys are roll called as the fallen. I quote select verses to convey the poet's sense of pathos:

I *Beannacht ar anmain Éireann,*
inis na gcéimeann gcorrach:
atá Treabh Briain na mbogglór
dom dhóigh a dhobhrón torrach.

A blessing upon the soul of Ireland, island of the faltering steps; methinks Brian's Home[26] *of the soft voices is pregnant with sorrow.*

II *Ionan is éag na Fódla*
ceilt a córa 's a creidimh,
táire a saornhac 's a saoithe,
más fíor laoithe ná leitir.

The same as the death of Fódla is the suppression of her right and her faith, the degradation of her free sons and her scholars, if lays or letters are true.

III *Deacair nach bás don Bhanbha*

d'éis an tréid chalma churadh
do thriall ar toisg don Easbáin
mo thruaighe beangáin Uladh.

It were hard for Banbha not to die after that gallant company of champions who went journeying to Spain – alas for the princes of Ulster!

XVI *D'éag a huaisle 's a hoireacht*
gan toidheacht aice ón oilbhéim,
dá lamhadh sinn a mhaoidheamh,
d'fhine Gaoidheal is oilchéim.

That owing to the death of her nobility and her courts she cannot recover from the stigma, if we dared to proclaim it, it is an infamy to the race of the Gael.

XVII *Atá o bhéim súl Balair*
i dteidhm galair a gealghort
a hioth gan bhláth i dtalmhain
bíodh ar a hanmain beannacht.

By the evil eye of Balar[27]*her fair cornfield is blighted, her corn is without blossom on the ground – a blessing be upon her soul.*

The poems by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird, 'The Downfall of the O'Donnells' and 'A Begging Letter' are a 'lament for the princely house of O'Donnell, which has been brought to utter ruin in the course of a few years'[28]. After the death of his patron, Fearghal lived in misery at Louvain. The poem is a lament for the children of Aodh (d.1600) the son of Maghnus. The death of the Earl 'is the cause of our ruin' the poet says. 'We are a poor flock without a shepherd'. In the poem 'A Begging Letter', Fearghal complains bitterly of the fate of ruin which has befallen him as a result of his patron and Ireland's fall. He complains that the vulgar and the base-folk have triumphed, while 'I lack wealth – I deem it unjust'. This is a fall from grace and wealth for him, '…my state is hard for one like me, I think it is a shame to my fathers'.

Elegiac and praise poetry continued in the centuries subsequent to the Flight, but it was marked by a lack of great patronage. Examples of O'Donnell poems surviving post-Flight are the list of poems addressed to the O'Donnell family preserved in the National Library, MS (Manuscript) 167, written by Seamus Maguidhir (Maguire) in 1727. Among the many poems are ones addressed to the O'Donnell aristocrats who remained in Tir Chonaill (subsequently County Donegal) after the Flight. There are several poems to Hugh Balldearg O'Donnell (Aodh m. Seaain m. Aodha Buidhe), who fought in the War of the Three Kings for both King James II and subsequently for King William. There are several poems also to my direct ancestor, Conall[29] (Conall m. Seaain m. Aodha Buidhe), Lord Lieutenant for King James II of County Donegal in 1689. Hugh[30], one of his sons,

REFLECTION ON THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

for whom Maguire's book is dedicated, is also written in poetry. I have come across a beautiful late eighteenth century/ early nineteenth poem[31] to one of my O'Donnell ancestors at Glashagh, Dominic Ruadh, the son of Conn of Glashagh, the son of Conall (the Conall mentioned above, who was Lord Lieutenant for King James II). It has classical references to Troy, Paris and Helen, and to the Irish mythology of Cuchulainn, Deirdre and Naoise. It also refers to Dominic as the 'supreme Earl' ('de fhíor-scoith na n-Iarlaí'[32]) .

O'DONNELLS REMAINING AFTER THE FLIGHT

"Titles in Ireland are uncertain tenures; happily, however, high descent and antiquity of blood are beyond the reach of forfeiture; as independence of mind and integrity of principle are beyond the reach of high sounding names to confer, or power to take away or bestow" – Mr. O'Donnel in *'O'Donnel, A National Tale'*[33] , by Lady Morgan.

Three misunderstandings persist about the Flight of the Earls: firstly, that all the aristocracy of Ulster left on the 14th September 1607, and that those who remained bearing the name were either illegitimates or former servants who adopted their old master's surname; secondly, that the O'Donnell descendants of the Earl of Tyrconnell and those who left are now the Spanish and Austrian O'Donnells of today; thirdly, that the Earl of Tyrconnell was the Head of the family of O'Donnell in 1607. Concomitant with the above issues, is the question of whether we need some one to be recognised as 'O'Donnell' (Head of the O'Donnell family) in today's world?

The ship load which left Rathmullan on Friday, 14th September 1607, carrying 99 people, did not carry within it all the aristocracy of Tír Chonaill. Nor, did it carry within it the members of the senior branch of the O'Donnells – the descendants of Calbhach [34](d.1566) (reign 1563-1566). It carried only within it some of the descendants of Calbhach's brother, Aodh (d.1600) (reign 1566-1592). Therefore, from an O'Donnell viewpoint it was a few members of a junior branch. But, with the calamities which befell them, and in having so many of the Ulster aristocracy on board it gained symbolism as the years and centuries passed.

The descendants of Aodh (d.1600) who were left behind were:

Inghíon Dubh[35](Fionnghuala), mother of the famous Aodh Ruadh (Red Hugh) (reign 1592-1602), who lived at Mongavlin Castle.

Bridget Fitzgerald, Countess of Tyrconnell, the Earl's wife. She was with her mother in Maynooth Castle.

Mary, the Earl and Countess' daughter was born in 1607. Later to become known as Mary Stuart O'Donnell[36], having spent time at the Stuart Court[37] in England.

Conn (b.1607), son of Cathbharr. He was brought up by Captain Basil Brooke at Donegal Castle.

Mairghrég, sister of the Earl. She left for Flanders in 1622.

Meadhb[38], sister of the Earl

Máire (d.1662), sister of the Earl, who married (i) Domhnall Ó Cathain (O'Cahan) (ii) Tadhg Ó Ruairc (O'Rourke).

Gráinne, sister of the Earl.

The more senior line of the O'Donnells – the Calbhach branch who remained were:

Niall Garbh (reign 1603-1626). His wife, Nuala went on the Flight.
(Their sons, **Neachtain** (1591-1624), and **Maghnas** (d.1646)[39], and daughter, **Gráinne**)

Aodh Buidhe[40]d.1649), brother of Niall Garbh.
(his sons, Dominic and John (Seán)(d.1651)(who fought in Spanish Service)

Domhnall, brother of Niall Garbh.

Siobhan, sister of Niall Garbh

Róise (who married Tuathal O Gallchóir (Gallagher), sister of Niall Garbh.

Elizabeth, sister of Niall Garbh (who married Cathbharr O'Donnell, son of Aodh Dubh of Ramelton) Castle)

Cathbharr, brother of Niall Garbh.

Máire, sister of Niall Garbh (who married O'Boyle).

The brother of Niall Garbh, **Conn 'Óg**'s son **Maghnas**[41]

The Calbhach branch were prominent in the struggles to regain the O'Donnell political power in the 1620s, 1641-52 period, and in the War of the Three Kings (1689-91).

Other O'Donnells remaining:

Aodh Dubh[42] (d.1618) of Ramelton Castle – the progenitor of the illustrious O'Donnells of Ramelton[43] (his sons **Eigneacháin, Calbhach, Neachtain, Seánn, Cathbharr, Maghnas Óg, Torlogh**) All these remained and their descendants. They were very prominent in the resurgences of the 1640s. Many of them fought in the Spanish Service.

Cathbharr Óg, son of Cathbharr, son of Maghnas (d.1609).

Seán[44] **, son of Maghnas Óg, son of Maghnas.**

Many of the above kept the O'Donnell aristocratic spirit alive both in Ireland and the Continent throughout the seventeenth century – O'Donnells were strong participants in the 1641-52 Rising and in the War of the Three Kings (1689-1691). It is this latter War which spelt their final demise as major players on the battlefields in Ireland.

This is but a fragmentary list of those remaining, and does not include many of the older generations alive in 1607, the cousins, many of the other brothers and sisters, who are now known only onto God. It is this problem of lack of full genealogies, which has led to many 19th and 20th century fabrications of genealogies and seniority claims. It has resulted in the syndrome 'in the land of the blind, the one eyed man is king', whereby genealogists and historians have drawn upon fragmentary versions of the genealogies, with gaps in names of brothers, cousins and descendants, and have drawn up seniority charts which are inaccurate[45].

The next grave misunderstanding surrounding the Flight of the Earls is that the Spanish O'Donnells and the Austrian O'Donnells as we know them today, are the direct lineal descendants of the Earl of Tyrconnell or his brother Cathbharr, and that their O'Donnells have been in Spain and Austrian since 1607/1608. The male descendants of the Earl of Tyrconnell and Cathbharr became extinct in the male line in 1642, with the death of Hugh Albert[46], the Earl's son. Therefore, they are not their descendants. The Spanish and Austrian O'Donnells only came out of Mayo in the mid-1700s[47]. The Spanish ancestor, Joseph O'Donnell was born in Mayo in 1722. The Austrian O'Donnells' ancestor, Henry, born in Mayo in 1726, went to Vienna in 1742. Joseph and Henry were great-great-great grandsons of Conn Óg, who died at Donegal Abbey in 1601, when the wall fell on him in his fight against Aodh Ruadh (the famous Red Hugh) (the Earl's brother). Conn Óg was the youngest of the brothers of Niall Garbh. Therefore, they are not the descendants of the Earl of Tyrconnell, nor of his brother, Cathbharr. Nor are they the second and third most senior branches of O'Donnells now remaining after the Larkfield O'Donnells. This is often erroneously quoted in publications and on many items bearing brief histories of the O'Donnell family attached to 'coat-of-arms' and armorial souvenirs.

The title 'O'Donnell' is now legally questionable, and the resurrection of it in 1945 is open to serious question. Constitutionally, the Republic does not recognise titles. The 'age of aristocracy is gone', and therefore from a legal and historical position it is a farce to resurrect a title which was once so sacred, and was elective in nature, based upon the specific qualifications of kingship, and the territory and societal structures which were concomitant with it. To confer the title in this age, upon perusal of unsatisfactory, and in many instances fabricated genealogies, is a dishonour to the ancient and noble blood of the O'Donnell ancestors. The last 'O'Donnell' is Niall Garbh (reign 1603-1626). *Le roi est mort*, and there cannot be a *vivre le roi* in the O'Donnell circumstance.

In reflection on the Flight of the Earls and the subsequent centuries, it is important that we appreciate our ancient past and that we grow in knowledge about our ancestors; but we cannot recreate their society, nor can we recreate their royal or princely titles. The

words of Mr. O'Donnel in Lady Morgan's novel, as quoted at the outset, are words of wisdom, and we should take note that we do not need the restoration of our title. For legal and historical reasons, let it rest with Niall Garbh, and our ancient dead.



Tombs in San Pietro, Montorio, Rome

GRAVES OF THE PRINCES IN SAN PIETRO, MONTORIO, ROME

Far from the maddening crowds of tourist Rome, high on the Janiculum Hill, stands the medium sized Renaissance church of San Pietro in Montorio (St. Peter's on the Golden Hill) which was built erroneously on the assumption that St. Peter had been crucified on the spot. The church was rebuilt by King Ferdinand (1452-1516) and Queen Isabella (1451-1504) of Spain. The Tempietto ('little temple') (built in 1502), a masterpiece of High Renaissance architecture by Bramante, marks the erroneous spot in the courtyard of the church where St. Peter was believed to have been crucified[48].

Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) bequeathed the church and monastery of San Pietro in Montorio to the Spanish Franciscans circa 1480. Being a Spanish Franciscan church meant it was an obvious choice of resting place for the O'Donnell and O'Neill princes[49]. The marble grave slabs are to the left of the High Altar. They are the grave slabs of Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill (Rory O'Donnell), Earl of Tyrconnell (d.1608), his brother, Cathbharr (Cafarr) (d.1608), their nephew, Aodh (Hugh O'Neill) Ó Néill, Baron of Dungannon (d.1609), and his father, Aodh, Earl of Tyrone (d.1616).

There is an interesting article in the publication, Memorials of John Hogan – the Great Irish Sculptor 1800-1858 by 'Benmore'[50] on the graves of the princes. It is worth quoting how the graves were restored in 1843:

> *In the year 1843 James Molyneux Caulfield, eldest son of the Hon. Henry Caulfield, who was descendant in the maternal side[51] from the Princes of Tyrconnell, during his wanderings in Rome searched for and located the tombs of Hugh O'Neill and those of the Irish princes who fled from Ireland in 1607 and whose dust found resting place in the vaults of San Pedro in Montorio. Finding*

> *the inscription defaced and neglected, and the precious marbles broken and removed, he felt grieved. He suggested a subscription amongst the Irish in Rome, succeeded in obtaining the necessary sum, giving half the total amount himself; a Mr. Dominic O'Reilly interested also. He procured records of the inscriptions from the Archives of the Convent which originally were cut on the costly memori als raised over the princes by Philip of Spain. All required information was obtained and the work of restoring the memorial marbles was given to John Hogan[52], and the Nation refers to the thought which inspired J.M. Caulfield to have this work done. "Indeed it is still more delightful to find that one of the Protestant aristocracy of the country, in whose veins runs the princely blood of O'Donnel, feels pride in so noble an ancestry and cares to preserve the memory of our illustrious dead. The Nation, December 20, 1845". This is most interest ing for every admirer in Tirowen and Tyrconnell of Owen and Hugh, Shane the Proud and Red Hugh O'Donnell to learn that these historical inscriptions have been preserved for posterity, and to Hogan was confided such a work .[53]*

'The rest is silence'[54]

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Photo – John M. Beattie.

1 p.50

2 According to the ancient genealogies Niall of the Nine Hostages (Nial Naoi nGiallach) was the 52nd lineal descendant of Eremon, King of all of Ireland. Eremon was the son of Milesius, the King of Spain, who envisaged invading Ireland, circa 1700 B.C. This ancient link with Spain was continued throughout the O'Donnell reign. The O'Donnells are related to 10 High Kings of Ireland and 40 saints. The O'Donnells were descendants of the Uí Neill royal dynasty, descendants of which included the O'Neills, O'Dohertys, O'Gallaghers and O'Boyles. Ui Neill and O'Neill are not to be confused. The Uí Neill are the collective descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who provided Ireland with many High Kings and kings. O'Neill as a family name is of a later period, and is Eoghan's branch, a son of Niall.

3 Named after Lughaidh, their royal ancestor, who was a first cousin of St. Colmcille (Columba) (the family's patron saint). This area is the Gartan and Kilmacrenan area of County Donegal today.

4 Annals of Ulster, Annals of Loch Cé, 1241.

5 See the chapters on sacral kingship in the book by Dr. Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords* (Woodbridge, 1987). This was a sacred ceremony of inauguration, with anointing of the new king.

6 Doon Rock is located in the heart of their old territory of Kilmacrenan. Doonan, outside Donegal Town, has a prominent rock, which according to the folklore as recorded by John O'Donovan in his Ordnance Survey Letters for that area, records that it was used by them as an inauguration site also. Perhaps there might have been some inauguration ceremony in the south of their territory at this site. Doon and Doonan are very sim ilar in name.

7 I would recommend the reader to the excellent articles on the O'Donnells - 'Late Medieval Donegal' by Dr.

Katharine Simms, and 'The Renaissance and the Late Medieval Lordship of Tir Chonaill 1461-1555' by Dr. Darren Mac Eiteagáin in *Donegal History & Society*, Nolan, Ronayne & Dunlevy (1995).

8 See my article: 'Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill (1569-1626)' in *Donegal Annual*, 2001 & 2002, where he shows how justice was subordinated to policy in the Stuart approach to Ulster. The aristocrats were to be reduced and supplanted by soldiers & military men who needed to be paid after a long campaign, the Nine Years' War.

9 I refer the reader to RJ Hunter's article 'Plantation in Donegal' in *Donegal History & Society*. An example is Captain Basil Brooke, who received a crown lease for twenty-one years of Donegal Castle, its fishing rights, all customs and duties due to the said castle. He was merely a military man. Captain Paul Gore, of a London merchant family, acquired Magherabeg Friary and McSweeney's at St. John's Point. Captain Harte, Sir Ralph Bingley and the Vaughans, Captain William Stewart, and many others were all commoners, military men, not ancient aristocrats. This is something which is often forgotten when we assess the Plantation; Ireland was as revolutionary as France in the eighteenth century. The commoner gained from the displacement of the ancient aristocracy. Even if some were of landowning families in England or Scotland, they could never match the pedigree of the O'Donnells. This view of displacement of aristocracy is echoed by Declan Kiberd in his book, *Irish Classics*, (London, 2000), p.3.

10 The King James Bible was often used to justify the 'Scramble for Africa' in the 19th century.

11 RJ Hunter, 'Plantation in Donegal', in *Donegal History & Society*, p. 290.

12 Darren MacEiteagáin, 'The Renaissance and the Late Medieval Lordship of Tír Chonaill, 1461-1555', in *Donegal History & Society*, pp. 215-216.

13 Ibid, p.206.

14 Declan Kiberd, *Irish Classics,* (London, 2000), p.3.

15 Robin Flower, *The Irish Tradition*, (London 1947), p. 168, p.166.

16 Nina Witoszek and Pat Sheeran, *Talking to the Dead*: *A Study of Irish Funerary Traditions*, (Amsterdam, 1998), p.67

17 I recommend the reader to J. Carney, 'Society and the bardic poet' in *Studies*, 62 (1973) pp.233-50; P.A. Breathnach, 'The chief's poet' in *Proc*. R.I.A. 83 (1983) C, pp.3-79; K. Simms, 'The poet as chieftain's widow' in *Sages, saints and storytellers* (Maynooth, 1989), ed. D Ó Corráin, L. Breathnach and K, McCone, pp. 400-411.

18 National Library, MS (Manuscript) 167, written by Seamus Maguidhir (Maguire) in 1727: This book car ries the following poems which are associated with the events of the Flight [I have given the spellings as recorded there, and the published book or periodical versions of same]: O hEodhusa (Eochaidh) to Rudhraighe, before he was made Earl: Ní cothrom cogadh Banbha; Eochaidh Ua hEodhusa: Ionmholta malairt bhisigh, (*Studies*, December 1918); Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, on the elevation of Rudhraighe to the Earldom of Tirconnell: Diomddhach me don mhacdhacht ríogh (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* September 1928, pp. 250-9; Ó Raghallaigh, *Danta Eoghain Ruaidh*, p.96.) The same, on the journey of Rudhraighe to Dublin: Dana an turus trialltar sonn (Ó Raghallaigh, p. 86; *Studies* (1919), p. 255); Cuchoigcriche Ó Cléirigh m Mhiccon m Conchoigcriche to the same, on his being made Earl: Rug cobhair ar Chonallchaibh; Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, to Aodh Ruadh son of Rudhraighe: Cia re bfailtigh fian Eirne; (Ó Raghailligh, *Danta Eoghain Ruaid* p.58); Fergal Óg m Fearghail Mic an Bhaird, on the Flight of the Earls, 1607: Mór an lucht arthaigh Éire (*Irish Monthly*, 1926, p.471); Anonymous: Mo chen don luing si tar lear (Compare *Ériu* viii, p.191; *Catholic Bulletin* 1927, p.418); Eoghan Ruadh, on the death of Rudhraighe 1608: Maith an sealadh fhuair Éire (Ó Raghallaigh, Danta Eoghain Ruaidh, p.170); Eoghan Ruadh: A bhean fuair faill ar an bfeart; Fearghal Óg: Truagh liom MÓire is Mairghread (P. Walsh, *Gleanings from Irish Manuscript,* p.108); Cuchoigcriche m Diarmada I Chléirigh for Mary, sister of Aodh Ruadh: Ní deiredh leóin do leth Cuinn; Eoghan Ruadh m Uilliam Óig Mic an Bhaird to Aodh m Rudhraighe m Maghnusa: Fogus furtacht don tir thuaidh (Ó Raghallaigh, *Danta Eoghain Ruaidh*, p.282; *Irish Monthly,* (1927), p.468); Eoghan Ruadh, dedication of a book on the Rules and Conduct of War which he had trans lated for Aodh m Rudhraighe: A leabhrain ainmnighther d'Aodh (*Studies*, (Sept. 1919); Ó Raghallaigh, *Danta Eoghain Ruaidh* p.64).

19 The translations are from O. Bergin's *Irish Bardic Poetry* (1970).

20 The title used as the inaugurated Head of the family.

21 A bardic name for Ireland.

22 Nuala perhaps had a premonition of what was in store with this surrender. She was part of the 99 who left Rathmullan on the Feast of the Holy Cross, 14th Sept 1607 – what became known as the Flight of the Earls- She was tutoress to Hugh Albert, Rudhraighe's son at Louvain, after Rudhraighe's death in Rome in 1608. It is to her that Mac an Bhaird addresses his touching elegiac poem, translated by Mangan, 'O Woman of the Piercing Wail'.

23 O. Bergin's *Irish Bardic Poetry* (1970), p.35. The text is from MS. 6131-33 [fo.20a] in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, entitled *Leabhar inghine í Dhomhnaill,* 'The Book of O'Donnell's Daughter'.

24 The Earl of Tyrconnell in feeling unwell in Rome, felt that a change of air might improve his health and he travelled to Ostia, on the sea coast, 15 miles from Rome. There he became afflicted by a severe fever, which claimed his life after 11 days of 'violent sickness and great pain' on 28th July, 1608. The Pope accorded the thirty-three year old Earl, 'a large and splendid funeral in grand procession', 'with large numbers of lighted waxen torches and sweet, sad, sorrowful singing'. Muiris, the Earl's page died of fever on the 3rd August (Tadhg O Cianáin, *The Flight of the Earls*, ed. P. Walsh (Dublin, 1916), pp.239-41).

25 A bardic name for Ireland.

26 Another bardic name for Ireland.

27 Balar (Balor) was the Fomorian (one of the pre-Milesian inhabitants of Ireland) of the evil eye.

28 O. Bergin's *Irish Bardic Poetry* (1970), p.46.

29 Conall was the brother of Hugh Balldearg. He is the father of Conn of Glashagh (Glassagh)(between Fintown and Glenfin in County Donegal), my ancestor, and the Hugh who settled in Larkfield.

30 This Hugh settled in Larkfield, County Leitrim.

31 'Doimnic Ruadh na Glaisighe', Seaghán Mhac Menamin, *Árd-Léightheoir Gaedhilge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1937) p.61.

32 Ibid.

33 *O'Donnel, A National Tale*, (London, 1814), website version: www.sydneyowenson.com/ODonnel.html , p.73

34 I recommend the reader to my article on 'Niall Garbh O Domhnaill (1569-1626), *Donegal Annual, 2001* & 2002, which analyses the differences between the branches and the enmity which developed between them.

35 Inghíon Dubh, a Catherine de Medici figure, must have been heart broken now that her dreams were dashed – two of her sons were dead: Maghnas d.1600, Aodh Ruadh, d.1602, and her final two sons in exile, Rudhraighe (Rory) and Cathbharr, who were both to die in 1608.

36 See the very interesting article by Jerome Casway on this fascinating O'Donnell woman, 'Mary Stuart O'Donnell', in *Donegal Annual,* 1987, p.29.

37 That of King James I.

38 I am unsure as to whether herself and Gráinne were living at the time of the Flight.

39 The ancestor of the O'Donnells of Newport House, County Mayo.

40 Aodh Buidhe: The ancestor from whom my own family are directly descended, through his great-grandson, Conn of Glashagh, Glenfin, County Donegal. The Larkfield O'Donnells are descended through his great-grandson, Hugh (who settled in Larkfield)(a brother of Conn of Glashagh (Glassagh). (see ref. to Conn of Glashagh [mis-spelt Glasslough] and brother, Hugh of Larkfield set out by Hugh's grandson, Con O'Donnell of Higginstown, Ballyshannon, in *The Derry Journal*, 23/11/1841). In this letter to the newspaper, Con O'Donnell is most critical of the pretensions of the O'Donnells of Newport House and the O'Donnells in Spain claiming to be Head of the family O'Donnell.

41 It is from him that the Spanish and Austrians O'Donnells of today are descended.

42 See my article in *Donegal Annual,* 2001 & 2001 for the skeleton genealogies.

43 From whom Patrick O'Donnell, Cardinal of Ireland, d.1927 and the O'Donnells of Kilraine claim descent. The O'Donnells in Kilcar and Carrick are perhaps descended from the Ramelton O'Donnells.

44 He is probably the ancestor of many of the Rosses O'Donnells.

45 An example is the O'Donnell of Newport Genealogy, created by William Betham, the Chief Herald, in the 19th century. Now on view in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. He created a marvellous piece of propa ganda, excluding branches, and positioning the O'Donnells of Newport as heirs and beneficiaries under the will of Daniel O'Donnell (of the Ramelton branch) to the Cathach shrine. The Poem book, written by Maguire in 1727, MS 167 National Library, also is a piece of propaganda. It traces the descent of Hugh of Larkfield back into the O'Donnell line, correctly, but it excludes his brother, Conn of Glashagh (my ances tor). A person might easily use these genealogies, and create a family chart which excludes brothers and sis ters from a branch. The intent of the person creating these 18th century and 19th documents is now lost.

46 Hugh Albert (1606-1642), married Princess Anne Marguerite of Henin-Lietard (1608-1634). Her family had a beautiful chateau in what is now Belgium, see www.chateaudebossu.be. Hugh Albert died on 1st July, 1642 in Barcelona, Spain. He had no issue.

47 V. O' Donnell, *Clann Dalaigh*, (1989) p.37 & p.46.

48 J. Hager, *Pilgrimage*, (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), p.130.

49 The connection with Spain was strong, and the O'Donnells had long associations with the Franciscans, hav ing brought them first to Tír Chonaill in 1474. They were buried in the Franciscan monastery at Donegal Town after the establishment of a monastery there. Aodh Ruadh (the famous Red Hugh O'Donnell), who died in 1602 in Simancas Castle in Spain, was buried in a Franciscan church also, in Valladolid, Spain.

50 (Glenarm, Co. Antrim, 1927)

51 Through the O'Donnells of Newport House.

52 John Hogan's beautiful marble sculpture, 'Christ entombed' can be seen within the altar of St. Teresa's Church, Clarendon St. (off Grafton St.) in Dublin.

53 pp. 44-45

54 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, V, 2. www.opensourceshakespeare.org

THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY AND RORY O'DONNELL

Helen Meehan

The conquest of Ireland ebbed and flowed from the coming of the Normans in 1169 to the end of the Wars of the Roses in England in 1485. After the Tudor victory at Bosworth Heath (1485) the English had one king, one army and a centralized government while Ireland was divided into a multiplicity of kingdoms and independent or semi-dependent lordships which were frequently at war with each other. By the end of the fifteenth century, the primogeniture system of succession was the norm in England as in other European countries while in Ireland anybody within the *deirbhfhine* was entitled to succeed as leader. Disputes about succession plagued many of the Irish clans and this happened to the O'Donnells in the mid- sixteenth century. So an Irish chief had to watch not alone his neighbours beyond his borders but aspirants within his own family as well. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century some Gaelic chiefs attempted to introduce primo geniture. The O'Donnell *deirbhfhine*, however, was not eager to have their traditional right sidelined as such a process would elevate one branch to a permanent position of power[1].

Once the Tudors had consolidated their hold on England they turned their attention to the conquest of Ireland. By the 1590s Leinster and Munster were secured by the policy of surrender and regrant of land. The composition of Connacht had greatly increased English influence throughout Ireland. Ulster was still the most Gaelic of the provinces and the few treaties made between the English and chiefs like Calvagh O'Donnell or Aodh Óg (1505-37) were largely ignored or quickly broken. Donegal was shired by the Dublin administration in 1585 but later when writing of Donegal before 1603, Davies, then the Attorney General of Ireland, could truthfully state:

This country (Tír Chonaill), until the first year of His Majesty's reign, was always a mere Irish country, not governed by the common or statute laws of this kingdom, nor subject to the ordinary minister of justice, for the King's writ did never run there; the inhabitants thereof were governed by the O'Donnells as lords or chieftains of that country, who had cuttings, spendings, bonaght, and all other Irish exactions of all the inhabitants therein, and took upon them to have absolute power over their lives, lands and goods, as other Irish lords of countries not reduced had ever used; and the possessions of that country were ever enjoyed according to the Irish customs and tanistry and gavelkind, and the laws in use were only the Brehon laws[2].

For information on events in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century we are dependent on three sources. Much of the information in the Annals of the Four Masters is taken from O'Clery's *Biography of Red Hugh*. Earlier works such as Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell* are based on these writings. Dr. Silke tells

us that O'Clery's work is uncritical and incomplete[3].Since state papers for the period have been made available, they are being increasingly used by historians. While a great deal of the material in the Irish State Papers is very valuable, they must not be accepted unreservedly. With the exception of first-hand accounts by actual participants, particular care must be exercised in accepting unquestioningly information that relied on the grapevine. This came through spies and agents.[4]

[4]When information was transmitted orally, errors were liable to occur. From the publication of *Expugnatio Hibernica* by Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century English writers have criticized the "barbarity and idleness of the Irish". Works of later writers such as Fynes Moryson's *History of Ireland from the year 1599 to 1603* also lack balance[5]. More recently the discovery of documents in the Spanish Archives is helping to redress the balance between the various and often conflicting sources. Roman Law was adopted by most European countries including England in the eleventh century and became the basis for church law from the twelfth century. The Brehon Laws in use in Ireland were fundamentally different – for example state papers describe many Irish as base-born or illegitimate. But in Brehon Law polygamy was permitted; a man was allowed a number of wives of different grades and there were no illegitimate children except those born to prostitutes. The Brehon Laws didn't make marriage laws but they surrounded the break-up of a marriage with laws that upheld the rights of both parties[6].By the late sixteenth century Christianity attempted to impose monogamy so important chiefs attempted to follow church regulations but the hold of these immemorial rights, hallowed by a thousand years usage, was still potent[7].

THE NINE YEARS WAR IN BRIEF.

The greatest resistance to the expansion of English rule in Ireland took place during the Nine Years War, which began in 1594. This was possible because the two Hughs – Red Hugh O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill put aside their age old rivalry and united with other Ulster chiefs, like the Maguires of Fermanagh, to defend their land, their faith and their way of life. This united front meant that they had a common border so they didn't have to guard and defend their individual borders. Little action took place within Donegal itself, as the war was largely a defensive one. Red Hugh chiefly defended the western entrance to Donegal via Ballyshannon, the Erne and the plain between the sea and the Dartry Mountains south to Sligo. By lightning raids and hit-and-run tactics, he extended his influence south through Connacht and as far south as Thomond. The Irish armies during the sixteenth century were made up of horsemen, gallowglasses and kerns. The horsemen were the elite of the fighting men. As the century drew to a close the number of gallowglasses was decreasing so they played a less important role than they did in previous wars. The kerns were the poorest soldiers and the most lightly armed. In earlier wars the servile orders such as churls and horseboys were prohibited from bearing arms because of their low birth but in 1598 they were allowed to fight as kerns and were no longer looked on as distinct from the fighting classes[8].

Writing in 1599 the Annals of the Four Masters[9] could truthfully describe the state of Ulster as a still pool, a gentle spring, a reposing wave without fear of battle, incursion or attack from anywhere in Ireland as people are in fear of them. But things were about to change. The English decided to make use of their superior sea power and try to establish

bases behind the Irish lines. The forces assembled in England met those coming from Dublin at Carrickfergus and proceeded together to Lough Foyle. In March 1599 Henry Docwra was appointed Chief Commander and Governor of all her Majesty's forces of horse and foot assigned for Lough Foyle[10] . The English on landing began erecting forts, the two most important being at Culmore in Tír Chonaill and Dun-na-long in O'Neills territory. The Four Masters tell us that the English immediately commenced sinking ditches around themselves and raising a strong mound of earth and a large rampart, so that they were in a state to hold out against the Irish, who had surrounded them. For six months Red Hugh hemmed them inside their forts and let disease do his work for him[11] . As the Four Masters put it

> *As for O'Domhnaill when he perceived that they were not in the habit of going outside their encampments through fear and dread, he made no account of them, and assembled his forces to proceed into the south of Connacht, to plunder the counties lying on both sides of Sliabh-Echtghe, and especially Thomond.*

On leaving, Red Hugh appointed Niall Garbh in command – to continue blocking the English and to prevent them from plundering his territory. The Tudor administration had always sought to exploit the tensions within Gaelic society and Docwra sought to win over disgruntled aspirants to the chieftaincy with promises. In June 1600 Art O'Neill (son of Turlach Luinneach who was chieftain of Tyrone 1567-95) went over to Docwra at Dún-na-Long. On 3rd October Niall Garbh, tanaiste of Tír Chonaill, defected, bringing with him his three brothers, Aodh Buí, Domhnall and Conn as well as 40 horse and 60 foot. Docwra in the name of the Queen promised him the lordship of Tír Chonaill – he wished to hold this lordship as Calvagh (1563-66) his grandfather did[12] . According to Brehon Law Niall Garbh, who was a grandson of Calvagh, son of Manus (1537-63) was entitled to be chief as he was within the deirbhfhine. According to English Law of primogeniture Niall Garbh had a better right to be chief than Red Hugh as Niall was descended from Calvagh, eldest son of Manus while Red Hugh was a son of a younger brother of Calvagh – Sir Hugh or Aodh Dubh in Irish[13] .

Docwra gave Niall Garbh 530 troops and with these he captured Lifford and took possession of Lifford Castle. On hearing of the defection Red Hugh hurried back to lay siege to Lifford. He established his camp near Castlefin. Unlike Red Hugh, who was surprised at Niall's defection, Hugh O'Neill had his suspicions about him from 1598. In 1599 and again in February 1600 Niall Garbh had visited Dublin and had exploratory talks with Mountjoy and the Council[14] . Trouble erupted in Thomond in October and Red Hugh, ever anxious to keep the lines of communication to the south and west coast open (in case of a Spanish landing there[15]), hurried south. Taking advantage of his absence, Niall Garbh and his forces came through Barnesmore and attacked the Franciscan Friary in Donegal. Red Hugh had only got as far as Ballymote when news of this calamity was brought to him. The Four Masters continue the story:

> *He left the farmers and betaghs of Tirconnel with their herds and flocks throughout lower Connacht, with some of his soldiers to protect them against*

[invaders from] the harbours, kerns and foreign tribes, [and] he himself pro ceeded with the greater part of his army across the [rivers] Sligach, Dubh, Drobhacis and Eirne, northwards, and pitched his camp in strong position exactly at Carraig and laid siege to the monastery.

On 29 September an explosion occurred within the monastery and destroyed it. Red Hugh and his forces continued with the siege until news came that a Spanish fleet had – at long last – arrived in Ireland[16] .

SEEKING HELP FROM SPAIN.

Red Hugh had realised from the outset that Spanish aid would be necessary to defeat the English and in 1593 he sent the Bishop of Killaloe, Cornelious O'Mulrain to seek help from Phillip II[17] . Edward McGauvan, Archbishop of Armagh returned from Spain with assurances that the King would be willing to help the northern chiefs. Many of the envoys from Spain came to Killybegs on Donegal Bay because it was regarded as a safe harbour from both a naval and military point of view. In May 1596 Captain Cobas arrived. Red Hugh was in Lifford at the time and he sent Hugh McDevitt to bring the party and Niall O'Boyle, Bishop of Raphoe safely through Barnesmore for the meeting in Lifford. Shortly afterwards two ships arrived with a cargo of gunpowder and brought back letters to the King[18] . In April 1597 de Vegan landed at Killybegs and proceeded from there to Donegal to meet Red Hugh. In June 1599 MacDavitt was provided with a cargo of 1,000 arquebuses, 1,000 pikes, 150 quintals of powder, and 100 each of lead and match. Don Fernando de Barrionuevo, sergeant-major, was sent with him as a special envoy to the Irish leaders from Phillip, and the cargo was carried in three zebras commanded by General Marcos de Aramburu. Aramburu reported that Killybegs harbour was one of the best ports in Ireland. Don Fernando then travelled to the monastery of Donegal where he met Red Hugh, O'Neill and the other confederate leaders. Before leaving he divided his cargo of arms among the two Hughs[19] .
In April 1600 Cerda landed in Killybegs with munitions and other equipment. On board were Archbishop-elect of Dublin, Dr. M. Oviedo, as envoy of the King and the Pope. He held a conference in Donegal monastery at which over 60 were present[20] . During those years two armadas had sailed from Spain en route to Ireland but both in 1596 and 1597 these were scattered by Atlantic storms. Finally in September 1601 an armada set sail from Belem[21] . All advice favoured a landing in the north where the Gaelic chiefs were strong. In early 1601 O'Neill had told Archbishop Oviedo that only if the force were 6,000 or more men should it go to Munster. In August 1601 O'Donnell's final judgement before the armada came was that with the 'sugan' earl and Mac Carthy prisoner, the Spanish fleet should not land further south than Galway or Limerick; anywhere between Limerick and Lough Foyle would do, should the fleet be driven out of course by storm[22] . Originally Aquila's preferred landing place was Obern Duff, the code word for Donegal Bay, but he was overruled.

On hearing the news that the Spanish had landed at Kinsale, Red Hugh mustered his forces at Ballymote before heading south. Red Hugh had bought Ballymote from the McDonaghs in 1598 for £400 and 300 cows and then made it his headquarters. The march and battle have been dealt with extensively by historians. The debacle or rout was blamed

partly on the failure of the Irish Cavalry[23] . The Julian Calendar was still in use in England so their sources say the battle took place on Christmas Eve 1601. However the Gregorian Calendar was in use in Ulster as in European Catholic countries so, according to the Irish and Spanish writers, the battle took place on the 3 January 1602[24] . In a desperate effort to get further aid from Spain Red Hugh decided to go there in person. He took ship at Castlehaven on 6 January 1602. On the night before he left he appointed his brother Rory commander of the forces of Tír Chonaill until his own return and bade himself and O'Neill to be friendly.

RORY O'DONNELL

Much is known about the life of Red Hugh – much less is known about the life of Rory, the second son of Hugh, son of Manus O'Donnell and his Scottish born wife Fionnuala McDonnell of the Isles, known as Ineen Dubh. Ineen Dubh's mother was Agnes Campbell of Cantire, daughter of the Earl of Argyle, and in the year Ineen married Sir Hugh, Agnes married secondly Turlough Luinneach O'Neill. Rory was born in 1575. Unlike Red Hugh we have no idea where Rory was fostered. In the late 1580s his father offered to send his second son Rory to Dublin as a pledge for the better assurance of his loyalty but this doesn't seem to have been accepted. Rory is mentioned several times in accounts of engagements during the Nine Years War. In the Calendar of State Papers we are told that Rory was attempting to go over to the English but this was found out by Red Hugh who had him placed in irons for a time. This episode is not precisely dated; it could have been in 1597 when Clifford replaced Bingham as Governor of Connacht. O'Conor and O'Conor Sligo both went over to Clifford at that time. The Irish records give no mention of this incident[25] . Interestingly the State Papers and Moryson are almost silent about the English defeat at the Curlews later.

The Four Masters and State Papers state that in 1597 Red Hugh came to Connacht to assist MacWilliam against Clifford. O'Connell made a hosting at the end of June to the province of Oilioll, and he went across the Moy into Tirawley. The district was not able to offer any resistance, and it gave hostages to him. He gave them to MacWilliam. O'Donnell went back, having left the country under the control and obedience of MacWilliam, and he left Rory O'Donnell (his own brother and the Rí-dhamhna of Cinel Conaill) with him to strengthen him against his enemies, and a large body of foot soldiers and mercenaries with him[26] . However, when Clifford formed an alliance against MacWilliam and Rory the latter moved back toward Collooney. The Four Masters continued;

That place was the ordinary road and a well known pass. The Governor stayed in the castle that night, and a large body of chosen soldiers with arms and armour; there were not less than fifteen hundred in readiness for the Irish. The news reached MacWilliam and Rory O'Donnell that the Governor was advanc ing by the road which they could not avoid. Wherefore they resolved, as they had crossed before morning over the top of the mountain slope of which we have spoken, to go to the river opposite, which was near the castle, and to send away their flocks and herds, their servants and recruits, and the unarmed crowd, by a safer road than that, which was a long distance from the castle.

The army had just succeeded in getting past the castle when the lowing of the cattle in the distance awakened the Governor and his men. The Governor and his army pursued the Irish; many were killed in the ensuing skirmishes but Rory succeeded in getting his cattle and most of his men safely back across the Erne to Tír Chonaill. In early 1599 Rory was the first to come to the hosting ordered by Red Hugh[27] . In the autumn of 1600 Rory took a leading part in one of the skirmishes between Red Hugh's forces on the one hand and the English and Niall Garbh in Lifford on the other. The Four Masters describe the action thus:

> *The two hosts of cavalry rushed to the charge, and began to fight with large spears and green headed lances. Niall O'Domhnaill gave Maghnus, brother of O'Domhnaill, a thrust of a sharp long lance under the shoulder blade and,piercing the armour with which he was clad, he buried it in his body and wounded his internal parts. When Rudhraighe O'Domhnaill, Righdhamhna of Kineall-Conaill, perceived his brother wounded, he made a brave attack upon Niall, and aimed a forcible and furious thrust of a large javelin at Nialls breast; but Niall raised up the front of the high rearing foreign steed which he rode, so that the spear stuck the steed in the forehead, and penetrated to his brain.*

Red Hugh ordered a litter of wattles to be made to carry Manus through Barnesmore to Donegal Town. This was done but Manus died of his wounds on 22nd October and was buried in the Friary there. Then Red Hugh moved camp to a more sheltered location on the west bank of the Finn near Barnesmore. When news reached him that Spanish ships had arrived off the west coast of Mayo Red Hugh hurried there leaving Rory in charge of the camp and his forces. Red Hugh requested that the ships land in Donegal and in early January they came into Teelin harbour where the two Hughs met them and divided the money and equipment that they brought between them. The English were ever hopeful that an occurrence would work to their advantage. On 24 January Captain H. Willis wrote to Sir Robert Cecil about the largesse recently brought from Spain:

> *I doubt not but the coming of this will put come controversy between O'Donnell and Tyrone, and between O'Donnell and his dependents, as O'Rourke, O'Connor Sligo, McWilliam. McDermott and O'Connor Roe. For every of these will have a portion of it, and will not suffer O'Donnell to take less than the half ['half-fendell']. Tyrone, he will ever stand upon the King's divident and indeed they both love to have the handling of anything that comes so well, that they will be very unwilling to divide with their chief gentlemen, which will divert many from them[28] .*

However, we have no account that any such divisions occurred. In an earlier letter (dated 19 January) Willis stated that two horse load of silver had been brought to Dungannon from Killybegs the previous night. In the spring of 1601 McSwyne's castle at Doe was besieged by Sir Mulmory, McSwiney and Rory but they had to withdraw on the approach

of Docwra and Niall Garbh with a much larger force[29] .

RORY AFTER KINSALE

After the departure of Red Hugh for Spain Rory led his force back to Connacht

> *through every difficult and intricate passage, and through every danger and peril which they had to encounter since they left Kinsale until they arrived, in the very beginning of spring, in Lower Connacht, where the cows, farmers, property and cattle of the Kineal-Conaill were [dispersed] throughout the country. O'Domnhaill, at his departure, had left his people much of the cattle of the neighbouring territories, Rudhraighe did not suffer them to be forcibly recovered from him by any territory from which they had been taken; for he distributed and stationed his soldiers and warriors upon the gaps of danger and the undefended passes of the country.*

Eoghan O'Gallchobhair had been left in command of Ballymote Castle when Red Hugh left for the south and he handed it over to Rory on his return[30] . Meanwhile, Niall Garbh and Docwra hadn't been idle in Donegal and once Red Hugh had gone south to Kinsale they began extending control southward. When Sir H. Docwra had been appointed to the Lough Foyle area in March 1599 Sir Matthew Morgan was appointed also.

> *The Circuitt of his Commaunde to Contain Bellishanon, Asherow, Tyrehugh, and all that countrey betweene Bellishanon, Donnegall, and Barnismore, vnto the vtmost partes of Barnismore esteward; All O'Boyle's Country and his followers, all mc Swyne Bonaught's Countrey and his followers[31] .*

When Morgan died in October 1601 Sir Henry Folliott from Worcestershire was appointed in his place. By March 1602 Folliott and Niall Garbh had taken over Ballyshannon Castle and Abbey Assaroe. Niall's brother Aodh Buí took over Inis Mhic Conaill and Inis Seimir at the mouth of the Erne. Niall Garbh and his followers went up the Erne in boats and destroyed Enniskillen as well as occupying the monasteries of Devenish and Lisgoole. Doncadh McSweeney of Banagh went over to Niall and the English about this time and accompanied them against Maguire and McCabe in Fermanagh[32] . Before Red Hugh departed for Kinsale, Niall Garbh and the English captured Donchadh's castle at Rahan near Dunkineely with the help of Captain Plessington of HMS "Tremontane" which was anchored at Killybegs nearby[33] .

Meanwhile Rory carried out a guerrilla campaign in Connacht and he was unable to get back to Lough Eske Castle until mid summer. Lough Eske Castle had been used as an ammunition store by the O'Donnells. In post-Kinsale, Donegal was the only castle not held by Niall Garbh and the English in South Donegal. It was being defended by the O'Gallaghers for Rory[34] . Red Hugh himself had Donegal Castle destroyed in 1595 to prevent it falling into enemy hands.

Under the original Brehon laws there were no jails but by the sixteenth and seventeenth century prisoners, or those whom a chief wanted "put away" were imprisoned on islands[35]

In 1601 Red Hugh heard that O'Conor Sligo was plotting with the Chief Justice to spy upon and then deliver Red Hugh to the Chief Justice and the Council in Dublin. Having consulted with O'Neill about the matter, Red Hugh sent a message to O'Connor to meet him at Grange. On his arrival he was immediately seized by Red Hugh's men and taken to Lough Eske Castle. On Rory's return he agreed to assist him so Rory freed him and both proceeded against the English forces under Sir Oliver Lambert, President and English Commander. They requested O'Rourke of Breffni to join them but he declined.

Rory and O'Conor Sligo continued the guerrilla-type warfare and outwitted the English at the Curlews, the scene of Red Hugh's great victory against Clifford on 15 August 1599 when Clifford was killed[36] . The Four Masters tell us that conditions in Ireland were deplorable by the autumn of 1602. On account of the scorched earth policy of many of those armies in the field, famine stalked the land. Rory held out hoping that Red Hugh would return with Spanish aid. Then in October 1603 Lord Mountjoy, Lord Lieutenant and General of the War sent word to Rory that Red Hugh had died in Spain. Writing of the death to Carew, President of Munster, the Earl of Shrewsbury said, "It's welcome news to us here and no less cause to you there"[37].

Rory held a council with his followers, some of whom were loathe to believe the tragic news which was communicated to them by the English. But they realised it was pointless to carry on when Red Hugh was dead so Rory and O'Conor Sligo went to Athlone where they made peace with Mountjoy. In a lengthy letter to the English Privy Council about the submission the Lord Deputy and Councillors (at Athlone) observed

> *Because we foresee how notable an instrument he may be able to bridle Sir Neal Garvagh, whose insolence has grown intolerable, of whom we think he will be the best curb that can be devised. We have therefore resolved when we come to Dublin to send for Sir Neale and this competitor, and, consider seriously how to provide for and dispose of them both*[38] .

The last phrase of this sentence was a portent of things to come.

After his submission in Athlone, Rory was ordered to proceed against O'Rourke. He willingly did this as he was annoyed when O'Rourke refused to join him the previous autumn. After this foray Rory, together with his followers, cattle, etc., returned to Donegal early in spring. Niall Garbh at this time was staying around Ballyshannon and Docwra became suspicious of his intentions. When he was ordered by the Lord Justice and the Council to come to Dublin to receive a patent for Tír Chonnaill he ignored the order and instead went to Kilmacrenan where he had himself proclaimed the "O'Donnell" without consulting the King's representatives[39]. Rory was now ordered to proceed against Niall Garbh – Niall himself escaped but Rory and his men captured his vast herds of cattle. Rory then divided these spoils among his followers[40] . However, it seems that matters didn't rest there. In his letter from Louvain to James I during Christmas 1607 Rory complained that when Niall Garbh approached Sir George Carey (the Lord Deputy who had replaced Mountjoy in 1603), Carey

> *gave warrants to Captain Pinner, Basil Brook and Ralph Bingley to levy and take satisfaction for the said prey from the Earl's tenant, for Sir Neill's use; where upon they, with nine-score of Sir Neill's men, and three English companies, took 500 cows, 60 mares and plough horses, 13 horses, besides meat and drink for six weeks for all the said companies and used many other extortions, the country being then extremely poor after the wars; whereupon the Earl procured order for the restoration of the said spoils again, which was no sooner granted than coun termanded by the said Carey, at Sir Neill's request, whereby there were seven-score ploughs of the Earl's tenants hindered from ploughing that season*[41] .

By ordering Rory to proceed against Niall Garbh in 1602, the English were perpetuating the schism in the O'Donnell family. As Sir Arthur Chichester wrote to the Privy Council *"there is no better war in this country than when they fight in blood one against a nother"*[42] . Docwra had observed,*"they have their own ends which were always private revenge and we are to make use of them for the furtherance of the publique service"*[43].

O'Neill submitted at Mellifort in March 1603 effectively bringing the war to a close. O'Neill travelled to London with Lord Mountjoy that summer; sources say Rory travelled with them but others say he went separately[44] . On 7 June Rory and Hugh O'Neill, accompanied by Lord Mountjoy, were received by James I in Hampton Court Palace and both were present also when Mountjoy was created Earl of Devonshire.

On the 29 September Rory O'Donnell appeared in the Cathedral of Christchurch, Dublin, and there in the presence of Loftus, the King's Archbishop, and sundry noblemen, heralds and other officials, was duly invested with the style and title of Earl of Tír Chonaill, and empowered to have a place and seat in all Parliaments and general councils in Ireland. This was the first acquaintance the people of Tír Chonaill had with a foreign title borne by any of their chiefs, which could not be compared to that of the "O'Donnell"[45] .

In 1604 Rory married Bridgid Fitzgerald (c. 1589-1682), only daughter of Henry, twelfth Earl of Kildare. Brigid's mother was Frances, daughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral. After Henry Fitzgerald's death in 1597, Frances married Henry Brook, Lord Cobham, a courtier at the English Court. His sister was married to Sir Robert Cecil, later Earl of Salisbury[46] .

THE PEACE TO END ALL PEACE

Rory's patent was issued in February 1604 when the authorities had had time to discover the ownership of all the land in Tír Chonaill. An inquisition was held in Lifford in July 1603 to distinguish the boundaries of the lands of the O'Donnell's from those of O'Doherty, O'Conor Sligo, the McSweeneys and other Gaelic Chieftains. Local names of Commissioners were Don O'Clere, Doran and Gilleagas McColin of Doran.

In letters written in Tottenham and dated 4 September James directed the Lord Deputy to cause letters patent to be drawn containing his Majesty's effectual grant to Rory O'Donnell and his heirs with remainders of the estate to Caffir, brother of the said Rory. Many court officials thought this seemed unusual and surprisingly generous to former

undeserving rebels. The patent granted to Rory in February 1604 confirmed his title as Earl of Tír Chonaill and granted all the territories and countries of Tír Chonaill to him.

More important really were the lands excluded in the patent, the lands of O'Doherty in Inishowen and O'Connor Sligo which deprived him of long accustomed tributes from lands south of Erne such as Sligo itself, Tirawley in Mayo, Moylung in Roscommon, Dartry in Leitrim and Western Fermanagh. Also excluded were the lands around the town of Ballyshannon and the valuable fisheries of the Erne and Niall Garbh's patrimonial lands along the Finn. Rory was given a custodian (promise) of all the abbey lands of Tír Chonaill but these promises were never kept. Rory lost all income from these abbeys, etc. as well as from all church lands (such as Termon) which were specifically excluded from the patent[47] . The loss of these lands, fisheries, etc were the subject of complaints and petitions sent by Rory to the Lord Deputy and the Council in Dublin and the Privy Council in London during 1604 and 1605. Particularly galling was his failure to get Lifford Castle and its 12,900 acres of good land in the Finn-Foyle Basin; these were granted to Niall Garbh. In a letter to the Earl of Salisbury Rory wrote:

> *I have written to you touching Lyffer [Lifford] which was taken up, as it was pretended, for his Majesty's use, on the information of such persons as sucked all the wealth of that land which his Highness bestowed on me this three years pass*ed *to themselves. As the Lyffer was the only jewel I had for my maintenance, they worked the best means with the Lord Deputy and Council to take from me, alleging such reasons as they thought to me most acceptable to the State. If this be a good consideration for all his Majesty has been pleased to exempt out of my letters patents of that living my ancestors have had, I refer to you, as also all other my affairs.*
>
> *Undated*
> *Holograph Endorsed: "1605" 1 p (115. 2.)*[48]

By granting Lifford to Niall Garbh the English were exploiting the antagonism between the two factions. Indeed Niall was so strong at this time that Lord Chichester wrote that Rory "holds it not safe to return thither but lies within the Pale, very meanly followed"[49] . Rory found the change from being an independent Gaelic chief to a landlord "after the English manner" particularly difficult. Apart from his difficulties with Niall Garbh he had to contend with hostile English officials, sheriffs, provost marshals, assizes, judges and justices of the peace who behaved with ill-concealed hostility to the Irish, whom they didn't believe deserved the pardon and grants they had so far received. Complaints about their behaviour to the Deputy were neither investigated nor listened to[50] .

In June 1605 by James' special order, Tír Chonaill received a commission from Sir Arthur Chichester, who was now lord deputy, as the King's lieutenant in Donegal County but with the proviso that martial law should be exercised only during actual war, and never over his Majesty's officers and soldiers. The granting of the County Lieutenancy to Rory was looked on in some circles as an effort to placate Rory though crown officials had little sympathy for his grievances[51] .

One of the prime aims of the English in Ulster was to rid the country of the Gaelic system of land ownership and introduce the English system whereby the lord would retain a demesne for his own use and heads of other land-owning families would be redefined as freeholders. This policy was vigorously pursued by Sir James Davies, Solicitor General for Ireland (1603-1606), Attorney General from May 1606 and Sir Arthur Chichester, who replaced Sir George Carey as Lord Deputy in 1605[52] . Rory employed an Anglo-Irish lawyer to persuade "MacSweeney, O'Boyle and other gentlemen . . . . in Tyreconnel under the O'Donnells that the King, having granted pardon and all his brother's lands to this new Earl of Tyrconnell, they having yet no pardon, had lost all their old right in their lands . . . and so could not have no dependency but on the earl's favour"[53] .

These chiefs surrendered their estates to him. Davies then proclaimed English law to all of Ulster and these families were redefined as free, natural and immediate subjects of the King and not the followers of another chief. This made chieftainship redundant and introduced tenure under the crown[54] . These new measures added to Rory's financial difficulties. It meant a further reduction of his income – the loss of the land already withheld from him in his patent had already greatly reduced his circumstances. Evidence given by Tadhg McGlinchey Stewart of Red Hugh in 1620 and Donel O'Gallagher in 1626 tabulate the rent due to O'Donnell andgive us an idea what Rory was losing by 1604/1605. Leases from Inishowen were very important.

> *Day, i.e. one hundred and twenty cows a year. And what was due to O'Neills from them was only sixty milk cows each May Day.*
>
> *Sixty horsemen and one hundred and twenty foot soldiers is the hosting of Inishowen for O'Donnell, nine nights lodging for his permanent hired soldiers no matter how plentiful or great they are.*
>
> *Smaller amounts were due from McSweeney Fanad, McSweeney Doe and McSweeney Banagh:*
>
> *The kingly beefing of O'Donnell*
> *The beefing of sixty bullocks from Inishowen, eighteen bullocks in Fanad and that they be taken three times a year.*
> *Eighteen other bullocks in Doe and that they be taken three times a year.*
> *Eighteen other bullocks in the country of Banagh.*
> *Eighteen other bullocks in the termon of Derry. The food of two seasons in the termon of Kilmacrennan.*

These are only samples from two long lists that show what 'the O'Donnell' was due[55] . The loss of income from the fisheries was great; the Killybegs fishing was estimated at £300 for one season alone, the Erne fisheries were worth £800 per annum. Customs officials were appointed to the ports and these now collected the revenues which were formerly paid to the O'Donnells[56] .

Rory had to mortgage part of his estate to Dublin merchants and Chichester calculated that his remaining income would only be about £300 per year. Chichester indeed believed that Rory had debts of £3,000 by 1607. His list of grievances sent from Louvain to James I at Christmas 1607 show other ways in which his income had been severely eroded. Large numbers of both his own and his followers cattle were being taken without any recompense. For example,

> *King's forces at Lifford, namely Captain Nicholas Pinner and Captain Basil Brook, who were under Sir Henry Docwra's command, seized from the Earl's tenants there the number of 150 cows, besides as many sheep and swine as they pleased, and in some of the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon seized 400 cows to feed their soldiers.*
>
> *There was never a garrison in Tyrconnel that did not send their private soldiers into the country to fetch, now three beeves, now four, and when they liked, which they practised until they had taken all, and when the Earl complained, said Carey seemed rather to flout him, than in any way to right him.*
>
> *By Sir Henry Folliott's company there were taken from the Earl's tenants 38 plough horses for carriage, which were never restored, nor any recompense made for them, and at another time one and twenty, and again 14, all in the same nature as the former, and never restored; they being taken in the spring of the year, whereby the tenants were hindered from ploughing as before.*
>
> *For the said Sir Henry's house, every month there were six beeves and six mut tons taken up by his own officers within the Barony of Tirhue [Tirhugh]; which was used continually for a year without any manner of payment for the same.*
>
> *In 1606 sheriffs were sent to Tyrconnell, by every of which there was taken out of every cow and plough-horse four pence, and as much out of every colt and calf, twice a year, and half a crown a quarter of every shoemaker, carpenter, smith and weaver in the whole country, and 8d a year for every married couple*[57] .

These were only samples of the blatant disregard of the officials for the Earl and his people. At the same time efforts were being made to incriminate Rory so that he could be charged in a court of law.

> *A gentleman named Donagh O'Brian, who had some time followed the Earl, was committed to prison in Athlone, out of which he made an escape; and afterwards Sir Oliver Lambarde sent a protection to him, and he being come before the Lord Deputy and the said Sir Oliver into a private chamber. Sir Oliver told him that he should not only have his pardon but also large rewards if he would charge the Earl with treason; but the gentleman, who neither could nor would charge the Earl with anything, rather made the choice to abandon his native country.*

Once, when Rory was on his way to Dublin to complain about how he was debarred from his rents, he spent the night in Boyle Abbey. Then the constable of the town and 20 soldiers attacked the abbey seeking to kill him. In the morning the Earl was rescued by the country folk, who conveyed him safely out of the town. And when the Earl complained and showed his wounds to the Lord Deputy, he promised to hang the constable and ensign; but afterwards did not once deign so much as to examine the matter[58] .

What S. O'Faolain wrote in his celebrated biography of Tyrone could equally be applied to Rory O'Donnell:

> *Felon-Setters, agents provocateurs, spies, petty officials of every kind dog then [the earls] like shadows. Failing to get any evidence to support story of a plot, Chichester egged on his men to badger his victims into some indiscretion that would justify him in proclaiming them traitors*[59] .

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY

The maxim "Cuius regio euis religio" prevailed in post-Reformation Europe. Elizabeth I succeeded to the English throne in 1558 and in 1560 the Act of Uniformity and Supremacy restored the Protestant faith there and in the parts of Ireland where the Queen's writ could be upheld. On 4 July 1605 the Act of Uniformity was proclaimed in Ireland. All were now expected to attend service in a reformed church, though in reality there were few clerics of this church in west Ulster until after the arrival of Bishop George Montgomery in 1606[60] . On a visit to Rory, Chichester told him at his own table, in the presence of a large number of his guests that he had better go to church or else he would be forced to go there. At Christmas 1607, a list of complaints was drawn up.

Rory submitted the following complaint to the King: *in primis – all the priests and religious persons dwelling within the said Earl's territories were daily pursued and persecuted by His Majesty's officers*[61] . A report to Davies in 1606 stated that there were only three Bishops left in Ulster; Niall O'Boyle of Raphoe was under the protection of Rury O'Donnell[62] . The Act of Uniformity applied equally to the Catholics of the Pale, even those who had remained on the side of Elizabeth during the Nine Years War. But the authorities were very successful in stifling expressions of opposition to the Act. Sir Patrick Barnewall, the man who had organised the Palesmen's petition against the Mandates policy in late 1605, had been committed to prison, eventually being transferred to the Tower of London[63] .

These measures made Rory and other Catholics look to Spain for succour and Rory paid several clandestine visits to the Spanish Ambassador in London, the first recorded being in December 1604. Rory's visit to London wouldn't have aroused much suspicion because of the connections of his wife's family with powerful nobles such as the Earls of Northampton, Suffolk and Nottingham[64] . Because of his financial circumstances Rory sought a Spanish pension. Initially the Spanish were guarded in their response, fearing that Tír Chonaill (married to a grandchild of the English Lord High Admiral) was being

used as an instrument "to penetrate the [Spanish] royal intentions".[65] This wouldn't have seemed too preposterous to the English – they were well aware of his straightened circumstances and more importantly privy council officials such as the Earl of Salisbury, Mountjoy and three members of the Howard family were getting pensions already, through the Spanish Ambassador. Rory communicated to the King that both he and Hugh O'Neill hoped that the peace (signed in August 1604) wouldn't last and if it didn't, he and Tyrone would be ready to act in Ireland on Philip's orders. Rory visited the ambassador again in London in March 1605 and another visit is recorded in February 1606 when Don Pedro de Zuniga had replaced Villamediana[66] .

During these years Rory no doubt met other disgruntled chiefs and leaders from the Pale where the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity was bitterly resented. It seems that Rory was engaged in some exploratory talks about forming a new Irish Catholic League but it doesn't seem to have got beyond vague plans and there is no proof that it had become an organised conspiracy. At Christmas 1606 while visiting his wife's family in Kildare Rory talked over these matters with Sir Richard Nugent, Baron Delvin of an old English family. Delvin repeated the conversation to Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, 22nd Baron of Howth. The following summer St. Lawrence, recently returned from Flanders, reported this to Chichester – the "plan" had lost nothing in the telling. It was now suggested that a general revolt with nobility (including some of the Mayo Burkes, Sir Randal McDonnell and the Earl of Tyrone as well as O'Donnell) and townsmen alike were allegedly involved in the planning. Spanish aid was promised allegedly also[67] .

In June 1606 Tyrone made a request to the King that his letters patent be clarified as many claims were being made against his estate because of the loose wording in the original documents. The most prominent claim against him was his sub-chief and son-in-law Donal O'Cahan, whose land traditionally formed part of O'Neill territory. Following the long-established policy of exploiting dissensions among the Irish, Chichester and Davies were banking on O'Cahan and were joined by the new Protestant Bishop of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher, George Montgomery, a personal friend of James I. In July James ordered O'Neill and O'Cahan to come to London where the case would be heard there in the autumn[68] .

In the meantime Chichester informed Salisbury of the alleged plotting of Rory O'Donnell and Salisbury instructed Chichester to apprehend and question Rory when he went south to Kildare to bring home his wife in September. In May 1607 Cuconnacht Maguire, a personal friend of Rory, went to the Low Countries. There Fr. Florence Conry (Franciscan Provincial and a friend and counsellor of the Earls) informed Maguire that James I would certainly arrest Tyrone should he go to London to press his claim that he held ownership in fee of O'Kane's country, and that Tír Chonaill would be taken in Ireland. While these arrests were more possible than probable, Maguire, probably in August, sent urgent warning to the earls and the archdukes who were concerned enough to finance his hire of a ship to take them away from Ireland.[69]

THE ESCAPE OF THE EARLS

The idea of seeking refuge abroad wasn't something new for the northern chiefs. From his refuge in the woods of Glanconcadhain, O'Neill wrote to Philip III on Christmas Eve 1602 begging for military assistance and if that couldn't be sent he concluded "we beg you to send a warship to the northern part of Ireland so that we may be conveyed to you safe from the fury of our enemies"[70] . When Rory visited Villamediana, the Spanish Ambassador, in December 1604, he communicated to him the danger to himself and Tyrone in Ireland and if peace were established they asked that a ship be sent to take them wherever the King might wish[71] . In 1606 Rory travelled to the Rosses seeking a ship that might take them to the continent. He didn't find anything suitable but on his way back he visited McSweeney Banagh at Rahan and called also with his official protector Captain Paul Gore[72] . Knowing that his trip would be reported to Dublin, he told both that he went to the coast seeking wine from merchants who traded between the Donegal coast and the continent to avoid giving rise to undue suspicions[73] .

In September 1606 M. McGrath, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, reported to the commissioners that Maguire and the Earl of Tír Chonaill 'had taken ship privily at Calibeg [Killybegs] either for Spain or the Low Countries'. On investigation the commissioners found the story to be untrue, but they learned that such had certainly been the intention of Maguire, and possibly of Tír Chonaill also. No mention was made of Tyrone having been implicated. Earlier, on 30 August 1606 two Glasgow mariners reported that Tír Chonaill had been enquiring as to whether their ship could go to Spain or France, but Chichester could not believe that he wanted to run away[74] .

Sir J. Davies saw the need not alone for a military conquest but also to introduce and apply English law to the whole of Ireland and that all laws and customs repugnant to a conquering power especially in regard to land and succession either be destroyed or modified. In 1606 Brehon Law and customs were abolished; in 1605 gavelkind and other practices of Gaelic land ownership were banned[75] . A group of Commissioners was appointed to reorganise Ulster by visiting the various counties to enforce these laws. They visited Lifford in 1605. In 1606, their efforts were concentrated on Fermanagh which had been divided three years earlier between two Maguires, Conor Roe and Cuconnacht[76] .

While the Commissioners were sitting at Devenish Niall Garbh came to them with this information.

> *Being demanded what he knew, or had heard, of the purpose of the Earl of Tyrconnel and Cuconnaught Maguire, to depart suddenly in some ship out of this kingdom~Saith that~ on Sunday last, Hugh Boy O'Donel, his brother, told him that Marie ny-Buire reported unto him that the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the said Cuconnaught, and Capain Tirrel, with others, had concluded to seize upon the kings forts and garrisons, viz., the Earl of Tyrone to execute it upon Charlemont and Mountjoy; Tyrconnell upon Derry, Liffor and Balacshannon; Cuconnaught Maguire upon Devenish, and to cut of the horsement lying upon the country, being of the gar rison of Balashannon; and Tirrel upon some fort or garrison near him, which he knows not particularly. And that it was said, as she reported, they had good assis*

> *tance in the Pale, and all the rest of Leinster, Connaught and Munster; and having some intelligence of suspicion that this, their plot, was discovered to the Deputy, they attempted to get shipping, and to embark themselves for Spain. And for that purpose they made their repair unto the Isle of Arran, and there failing of a conven ient passage, they returned and came to the Deputy's camp.*[77]

Somewhat similar testimony was given by Teige O' Corcoran, a servant of Maguires. Writing later from Louvain Rory reported how this information was 'wrung' from O'Corcoran. The Lord Deputy sent privately to apprehend one Teige O'Corcoran, servant to McGuire, and brought him secretly into the tent wherein he slept, where he was bound and tortured with bed cords so that he might charge the Earl with something tending to the Earl's overthrow and ruin, where he continued for the space of five days[78] .

When these statements of Niall Garbh and Teige O'Corcoran were sent to the Lords of the Council the following signed - T. Ellesmere, Canc., J. T. Dorset, Nottingham, T. Suffolk, J. E. Worcester, H. Northampton. Salisbury sent the following to Chichester:

> *His Majesty has considered of those discoveries which the Lord Deputy and Council have gathered out of the confessions of Sir Neale O'Donnell, Teag O'Corkran, More, and Kilmeny with other information of that nature.*
>
> *Considering that many of the better sort of that nation (being nursed up in rebel lion) are apt to be discontented, and in particular quarrels are ready to accuse one another, His Majesty advises the Council to be more cold in calling them in question*[79]

On his arrival in Brussels, Maguire contacted Henry O'Neill, the Earl's son, who was Colonel of the Irish Regiment in the Spanish Army in the Netherlands and explained his plan to bring a ship to the Donegal coast to collect O'Neill and O'Donnell and their households. With the money they received from the Archduke, the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands, they were able to hire a ship at Nantes and disguise her as a fishing smack. Under her captain, John Bath, a Drogheda merchant, she sailed from Dunkirk for the Donegal coast in August 1607.

Upon their first coming to Lough Swilly, Donagh O'Brian landed by night and went to the Earl of Tír Chonaill to acquaint him of the arrival of the ship. Tír Chonaill sent notice to Tyrone[80] by Fr. Owen Grath, Vice-Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Ireland.

While much is known of O'Neill's journey to Rathmullen less is known about Rory's progress. It would be impossible for him to bring his wife from Kildare without rousing suspicion. He knew he would be arrested if he went into the Pale. His son, Hugh, was on fosterage with the O'Gallaghers within Donegal and he was with Rory on the Flight. Rory left Lough Eske Castle[81] and travelling through Barnesmore made his way to Rathmullen. Hugh O'Neill called with Rory's brother Caffir at Ballindrait, his wife Rose O'Doherty and their family travelled with the O'Neill party from there to the ship, which sailed on the Feast of the Holy Cross, 14 September 1607.

The Four Masters wrote:

> *This was a distinguished crew for one ship; for it is indeed certain that the sea had not supported, and the winds had not wafted from Ireland, in modern times, a party of one ship who would have been more illustrious or noble, in point of genealogy, or more renowned for deeds,valor, prowess, or high achievements, than they, if God had permitted them to remain in their patrimonies until their children should have reached the age of manhood. Woe to the heart that medi tated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on, the project of their setting out on this voyage, without knowing whether they would ever return to their native principalities or patrimonies to the end of the world.*

The Earls hoped to return with Spanish aid and spent the rest of their lives abroad (as Red Hugh did) trying to bring this about, but they never succeeded. Some commentators argue that many people were glad to see them go and no doubt there were those who for a time were delighted. Their departure left Niall Garbh centre stage again[82] . No doubt he felt his time had come; he was in Lough Eske Castle by 1609 according to Baozio's map of the coast of the north-west counties of Ireland. But when he was removed to London in 1609 despite being found "not guilty" at his trial (for alleged conspiracy in the O'Doherty revolt) at the King's Bench in Dublin, one can but wonder what his thoughts were then. The sub-lords too may have felt life would have been easier for them without his demands but they weren't to know that the Plantation a few years later would see them moved to the less hospitable parts of the Barony of Kilmacrenan such as Lunniagh near Derrybeg with only a lease for their own lifetime[83] . The subsequent journey and life of the Earls abroad is chronicled in Tadhg O'Cianan's *Flight of the Earls*.

The news of the Flight was greeted with disbelief by the authorities both in Dublin and in London. They couldn't understand that despite the legion of professional spies and opportunistic informers who surveyed the Earls' every move, the Earls had been able to conceal their activities from them in the days and weeks leading up to the Flight. Chichester's first, and probably most honest, comment on the Flight of the Earls was that it had been 'long since thought out and resolved "by some of the fugitives'' but he "could never suspect''[84] .

On the instruction of the Privy Council the Dublin Government issued two proclamations, one by Lord Deputy Chichester and the other by King James, which declared that the Irish lords had no cause of grievance, religious or civil, that they had plotted treason, and that they were, consequently, ungrateful outlaws and unworthy of the succour of any foreign prince[85] . They also issued a proclamation to assure the people of Tyrone and Tír Chonaill that, notwithstanding the departure of the Earls and their train, the inhabitants would not be disturbed in the peaceable possession of their lands so long as they demeaned themselves as dutiful subjects; and that "commissioners", English as well as Irish, had been appointed in the several counties to protect them[86] .

Before the end of the year, a Bill was presented at Lifford to a jury composed of twenty-three Irish men and ten English. Rory O'Donnell was found guilty of treason and his lands declared forfeit to the Crown. Donagh McSweeney of Banagh was on the jury.

Its foreman was Sir Cahir O'Doherty of Inishowen. On October 1614 the Irish Parliament passed a bill for the attainder of the Earls and their followers and for the confiscation of their lands[87] . There is one further mention of Rory in the State Papers, in 1623, 15 years after his death in Rome. On 22 March 1623 an inquisition was held in Donegal to determine the extent of the mountain lands of Rory O'Donnell. They were said to stretch in an arc from the Lough Mourne, north of Barnesmore, to Meenabrock in the parish of Killaghtee and also in a north-west direction from Silver Hill toward the Gweebarra. These lands were inhabited by unfree tenants of the chieftain. They herded his cattle and lived in sod huts in the mountains. They moved around with the herds and sometimes the name creaghts is applied to these migrant stock breeders. Afterwards these lands became part of the Annandale Estate, which covered most of the Baronies of Banagh and Boylagh[88] .

Brigid, the wife of Rory, made her way to London after the Flight and through the family connections was presented at court. She represented herself as cruelly forsaken by her husband and was given a £200 pension. Later she married Nicholas Barnwall, first Viscount Kingsland – a member of Parliament – and had two daughters and a son[89] . The life of his daughter Mary, born in England after the Flight, is covered in an article on Mary Stuart O'Donnell in the *Donegal Annual (1987)*. Rory had an older daughter, described in State Papers as illegitimate. Again the phrase is used by those who didn't understand the different grade of wives permitted by the Brehon Laws. Rory was 30 when he married Brigid so he could have been married earlier. This daughter, Elizabeth, married Luke Plunkett who later became first Earl of Fingall[90] . Rory's son Hugh, who accompanied him on the Flight, was left with the women and children when the Earls went to Rome[91] . He was given the name Albert at confirmation in honour of Archduke Albert of Austria who was his sponsor. Educated at Louvain he became a Knight of Alcantara. In 1632 he was given his own infantry regiment. He married Anne Marguerite de Heynon, a kinswoman of the last Duke of Guise. They had no children. In 1638 he was ordered with his regiment to Spain and perished when the French apparently set his ship on fire in August 1642[92] . On his death the title Earl of Tyrconnell lapsed.

Rory's sister Nuala forsook her husband Niall Garbh when he went over to the English. She accompanied Rory on the Flight. Mangan's *Women of the Piercing Wail* is a translation of an Irish poem attributed to Nuala, who is represented as weeping over the graves of her brothers on Rome's Janiculum Hill. There are several versions of this poem in Irish, variously known as An bhean a fuair faill ar an bheart and Mairgní Nuala. In an article in Donegal Annual" (1970) Niall O'Domhnaill tells us that the line "Is mise Nuala Iníon Uí Néill" should read "Is mise Nuala Nuacharr Néill" – the old Irish word for spouse. There was no Nuala Ní Néill in Donegal in the early seventeenth century[93] . There were disputes also among historians about the various places mentioned in the poem, one of these being Inis Mhic Naois. Both Paddy McGill and Fr. Paddy Gallagher maintained that it was in Doorin near Mountcharles as there is a townland Munterneese there. Niall O'Domhnaill disagreed, pointing out that there was no Inis or Island there[94] . However, part of the neighbouring townland of Drumcoe is locally known as the Island[95] . Interestingly this land belonged to Nuala; according to Brehon Law women had property rights. We know this land belonged to Nuala because after the Flight when Niall Garbh was appointed a commissioner under English authority he presented a list of fourteen demands to the King

and among the other petitions was:

> *That Captain Gore, who claims Ballymorey, and William Richardson, Doaren and Tawney – Tallan alleging a promise of the Lord Deputy, may be command ed to desist from their claim, the lands having belonged to the Earl's [of Tyrconnel] sister before his departure and having been bestowed by his Lordship (Sir Arthur) on his (Sir Neale's) son toward his maintenance.*

The reply to this request was:

> *When the country is quieted he shall be settled in such lands as belonged to him in right of his wife or otherwise, for the maintenance of his son, without the inter ruption of Captain Gore, Richardson, or any other, if they have not good and lawful interest therein.*

Niall Garbh never got possession of Dooran or Tawnytallon because shortly afterwards he was accused of complicity in the O'Doherty Revolt. Although he was found not guilty by Irish jurors at the King's Bench, Dublin, he was transferred to the Tower of London. He was detained there until his death in 1626[96] . To those on the Flight as well as those in the Tower of London the last lines of Mairgní Nuala could equally be applied:

Táim anois i gcéin
Is tá mo chelleabhar mall

1 Eunan O'Donnell, "Niall Garbh O'Domhnaill" in *Donegal Annual 2001*, No. 53 p. 11.

2 Meehan Helen, *Inver Parish in History* (Letterkenny, 2005) p. 51.

3 J.J.Silke , "Red Hugh O'Donnell (1572-1601) a Biographical Survey" in *Donegal Annual* 1962, p. 18.

4 M. Donnell in "Red Hugh and Rose O'Neill" in the *Donegal Annual 1986*, No. 38, p.48.

5 Also dealing with the period is *An Itinerary* written by Fynes Moryson Gentleman, first in the Latin tongue and then by him translated into English. Divided into three parts. The second part contains the rebellion of Hugh of Tyrone, and the appeasing thereof also written in form of a journal. At London. Printed by John Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate Street 1617.

6 W. N. Hancock, "The ancient laws of Ireland" in the *Harlian Mss.* (TCD) p. 125.

7 Morwenna Donnelly, "Red Hugh and Rose O'Neill", *Donegal Annual* 1986, p. 48.

8 Meehan, *Inver Parish in History*, p. 52.

9 *The Annals of the Four Masters,* O'Donovan's Translation of the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland,* Dublin, 1854, AMS Press, Inc. (New York. 1966)

10 H. Docwra, *Narration of the services done by the Army employed to Lough Foyle under the leading of Mee*, John O'Donovan, (ed.) Miscellany of the Celtic Society, (Dublin, 1849) Mus. Brit, Bib1. Hat 1. No. 357. Fol 235, b.

11 Darren McGettigan in *Red Hugh O'Donnell*, pp.73-74.

[12] Docwra, *Narration,* p 24.

[13] Meehan, *Inver Parish in History,* p. 52.

[14] O'Donnell, "Niall Garbh O'Donnell" in *Donegal Annual 2001*, No. 52, p.24.

[15] Silke, "Red Hugh O'Donnell a Biographical Survey" in *Donegal Annual 1961*, p. 11.

[16] Docwra, *Narration,* p. 255.

[17] Louis Emerson, "Red Hugh's Campaign" in *Donegal Annual 1960* , p. 238.

[18] McGettigan, *Red Hugh O'Donnell* , p. 93.

[19] J.J. Silke, *Kinsale, the Spanish intervention in Ireland at the end of the Elizabethan wars,* (Liverpool, 1970) pp.59-60

[20] M. Kearney-Walsh , *The Great O'Neill,* p. 25

[21] ibid. p. 23

[22] Silke, "Red Hugh O'Donnell" in *Donegal Annual 1961* , p. 19.

[23] Emerson, *Donegal Annual 1960* , p.236.

[24] Meehan, *Inver Parish in History,* p. 52.

[25] *Calendar of State Papers Ireland*, Elizabeth, 1601, Athlone. The Lord Deputy and Councillors at Athlone to the English Privy Council.

[26] O'Clery, *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*, p. 138.

[27] ibid p 187.

[28] *Calendar of State Papers Ireland-Elizabeth*, Jan 1601.

[29] Rev Paul Walsh " Sir Mulmory McSwiney Chieftain 1596 –1630" , *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* Vol. 51 1930 p. 189.

[30] *Annals of the Four Masters* p. 2275.

[31] Docwra, p. 29

[32] ibid. p. 318

[33] O'Donnell, *Donegal Annual* 2002 No. 54, p.21.

[34] Rev. C. Mooney in "Gleanings on O'Donnell History" in *Donegal Annual 1953* p.466.

[35] Ellis P. Beresford, *Women in Celtic Society*.

[36] O'Clery, *Life of Red Hugh* pp. 273-75.

[37] CM/615/466 27/10/1602

[38] O'Clery, *Life of Red Hugh,* p. 375

[39] *Calendar of State Papers* Ireland 1603 212-114.

[40] Docwra, *Narration,* p. 266.

[41] *Calendar of State Papers* Ireland Vol. 222 p. 200

[42] O'Donnell, *Donegal Annual 2001* p. 36

[43] Docwra, *Narrration,* p. 247.

[44] Moryson, *Itinerary* vol. 111, p. 335; Mountjoy to Cecil, 30 May 1603 (HMC Salisbury MSS, vol. 15 p. 111). Both Professor Falls and Fr. Jones claim that Mountjoy at his departure was accompanied by Rory O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill. Their source of information, the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland* is mistaken on this point as is shown by Mountjoy's letter, cited above; Rory O'Donnell did, however, proceed to England sometime during the summer of 1603; see Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars,* p. 337; Jones, *Mountjoy*, p. 173; *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*. Vol. vi, p. 2347.

[45] C.P. Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 143

[46] J.C. McDonagh, "Heirs to the Chieftaincy and Earldom of Tirconaill", *Donegal Annual* , 1958 vol. 4, No. 1, p. 31.

[47] *Calendar of State Papers* Carew Papers Vol. 61 p. 124.

[48] *Calendar of State Papers* Carew 1603-06, Ms No. 17, p. 324.

[49] *Calendar of State Papers* Ireland 1603-6, p. 324.

[50] *Calendar of State Papers* Ireland 1607, vol. 222, pp 263-4.

[51] R.J. Hunter, "The End of O'Donnell Power" in *Donegal History and Society* ,edited by W. Nolan, L. Ronayne and Mairead Dunleavy, (Dublin,1995) p. 238.

[52] ibid p. 254.

[53] "The Treaty of Mellifont 1603" in *The Irish Sword* vol. 1X, no. 37 (Winter, 1970). Quotation from Fynes Moryson, *The Commonwealth of Ireland in Shakespeare's Europe*, pp.230-1.

[54] R.J. Hunter, *Donegal History and Society*, p. 256.

[55] McGettigan, pp. 131-133

[56] Hunter, *Donegal History and Society* p. 236.

[57] *Calendar of State Papers* Ireland 1607. Vol. 222 p. 260-26.

[58] ibid p. 26

[59] John McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls*, (Dublin, 2002) p. 69.

[60] Helen Meehan, in "When Raphoe first had two Bishops" in *Donegal Annual 2002* Vol. 54, p. 85.

[61] *Calendar of State Papers* 1607. Vol. 222.

[62] Meehan, *Inver Parish in History*, p. 54

[63] McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls,* p. 82.

[64] Kearney Walsh, *The Great O'Neill,* p. 38.

[65] ibid p. 39

[66] ibid p. 41

[67] Hunter, *Donegal History and Society*, p. 246

[68] Kearney-Walsh, *The Great O'Neill,* p. 55.

[69] J.J. Silke, "Rory O'Donnell" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* in association with the British Academy, p. 27.

[70] Kearney Walsh, *The Great O'Neill,* p. 9

[71] ibid p. 25

[72] Capt. Paul Gore, native of London was a Captain of Horse in Elizabeth's army in Ireland. He was knighted in 1620. At the plantation he received large grants of land and settled at Magherabeg near Donegal Town. He was an ancestor of the Earls of Arran who owned Donegal Town until the beginning of the twentieth century.

[73] O'Donnell, Fr. T., "The Rosses from the Earliest Times to 1640" in the *Donegal Annual* 1975-76. Vol. x 1 No. 2 & 3. p. 143.

[74] *Calendar of State Papers,* 1603-06. p 442.

[75] Hans S. Pawlish, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland*

[76] Hunter, "The end of O'Donnell power", *Donegal History and Society,* p. 260.

77 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland* vol. 219 p. 106 and Meehan, C. P., *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell,* pp. 46-47

78 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland* – James I vol. 222. 200

79 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland* – James I 1603 –1606 vol. 3 p. 141.

80 T. O'Fiach, "From Donegal to Rome" in *Donegal Annual 1989*, No. 41 p. 5-6.

81 Vincent O'Donnell, *The O'Donnells of Tír Chonaill,* p. 73.

82 O'Donnell, *Donegal Annual 2002*, p. 27.

83 Meehan, *Inver Parish in History,* p. 60.

84 *Calendar of State Papers* Ireland 1606-08. p. 382.

85 *Calendar of State Papers* Elizabeth – George II. Vol. 222. No. 175.

86 *Calendar of State Papers* 1608-10 Preface p. XXL

87 *Calendar of State Papers* 1614

88 Meehan, *Inver Parish in History,* p. 71.

89 J. Casway, "Mary Stuart O'Donnell" in *Donegal Annual 1987,* Vol. 39, pp. 28-37.

90 ibid p. 27-28.

91 Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell,* p. 163

92 Silke, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* p. 524

93 Niall O'Dónaill, "Mairgní Nuala Ní Dhónaill" in *Donegal Annual 1970,* Vol. 9, No. 2. p. 206.

94 ibid p. 207.

95 Meehan, *Inver Parish in History,* p. 475

96 ibid p. 53

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PÁISTÍ THEITHEADH NA nIARLAÍ
THE CHILDREN OF THE FLIGHT

Seán Bonner



A Celtic Cross overlooking Rathmullen

The persons whose lives are dealt with in this article were the children of the flight. They include Hugh the son of Caffer O'Donnell, Donal Mac Donal O'Donnell the nephew of the Earl Of Tyrconnelll, Hugh Albert the son of the Earl of Tyrconnell and Hugh O'Neill, Seán O'Neill and Brian O'Neill the sons of the Earl of Tyrone all of whom travelled on the ship from Rathmullan. They include Muiris, of unknown surname, the page of Rory O'Donnell. They include the two children who were left behind because they could not be found despite frantic searching, Con O'Neill the son of the Earl of Tyrone and Con the son of Caffer O' Donnell. Included is Mary Stuart the daughter of Rory O'Donnell who was born to her mother Bridget Fitzgerald who was pregnant with her at the time of the flight and whose mother declined to travel perhaps for that reason. They include the four other O'Neills, Henry, Eoghan Rua, Aodh Dubh and Henry Eoghan Rua because although

they were not on the flight their lives were dominated by the flight and the consequences of it. Only the most dogmatic could deny that they were, all fourteen of them, the children of the flight.

Hugh Mac Caffer O'Donnell travelled with his father and mother on the ship from Rathmullan. He grew up in the Low Countries and it is said died there and was buried in Louvain in 1625

Hugh O'Neill was the son of Hugh O'Neill the Earl of Tyrone. He was a young boy when he travelled on the Flight. He took fever in Rome and died there on the 24th September 1609 soon after the party arrived in Rome. He was was buried in San Pietro Montorio with Rory O'Donnell and Caffer O'Donnell. The grave plaque in the Church makes reference to his death and burial. It lies to the left of the church as you face the altar.

Brian O'Neill was the son of the Earl of Tyrone. He took fever in 1608 while in Rome and although he was very ill for some months he recovered fully. He was found hanged in his rooms in Brussels when he was about 12 years of age. The circumstances of his death have never been conclusively explained but it seems unlikely that the English had any part in it.

We know little of Maurice or **Muiris** save that he was the page boy of Rory O'Donnell and that he died in Rome from fever on the 3rd of August 1608.

Donal Mac Donal O'Donnell was the son of the brother of the Earl of Tyrconnell. He travelled on the ship and arrived in Rome. He died there from fever in 1608.

CON O'NEILL, CON MAC CAFFER O'DONNELL AND MARY STUART O'DONNELL

Con O' Neill, was at the time of the Flight the 6 year old son of Hugh O'Neill and Con the son of Caffer O'Donnell, less than two years of age, were the two children that were left behind because their parents could not locate them before their own departure. The two boys were with their respective foster parents at the time. Rory O'Donnell's wife was unable or unwilling to travel. She was pregnant at the time of the flight and her daughter was born to her shortly afterwards and named Mary O'Donnell. Mary O'Donnell was reared in Leinster and was introduced to the English Court of James the First and seems to have found favour there. She took the name Mary Stuart O'Donnell and her life became bound up with the life of Con Mac Caffer O'Donnell.Con O Neill would be imprisoned in the Tower Of London and his eventual fate is unclear. He was there at the same time as his uncle Cormac O'Neill and many others who were part of the 'collateral damage' of the flight. He may have died of natural causes or have been killed. That is assuming that dying in captivity can ever be a natural cause of death.



The Chapel in The White Tower, Tower of London.



The Tower of London as it appears from the Thames River

J.C.T Mac Donagh, one time President of the Donegal Historical Society now deceased, told the story of Con Mac Caffer O'Donnell and Mary Stuart O'Donnell in the 1958 edition of the Donegal Historical Annual and I will allow his words to retell their story.

That none of these principals were fully prepared for the Flight is evident from the fact that each left relatives behind; Rory, his wife and an unborn child; Hugh O'Neill, his son, Conn and Caffer O'Donnell, an infant.

The Countess of Tirconaill was in Leinster when the news flashed that Maguire and Bath had sailed up the Swilly and anchored at Rathmullan. Her husband sent her a cryptic message with his love, and then moved from Ballyshannon, with his followers, up to Fanad. His heir, Hugh Albert, was in that company. O'Neill was,at Slane, in attendance on the Lord Deputy when Bath, personally, brought him the news. From then he hastened slowly, via Mellifont, to a rendezvous in his own country, to which all his family had been summoned. There his youngest son, Con, a lad of six years failed to appear and his father waited for several days while frantic efforts were made to contact the boy's foster parents.

> *This child was, by accident, left behind , for the Earl sought him diligently but by reason he was overtaken with the shortness of time (and) for the people of those parts do follow their 'creates' as they call them , in solitary places where they like their pastures, after the manner of the Tartars, they are not, there fore, always ready to be found.*

O'Neill, failing to trace his son, bade fair adieu to his friends in Tyrone, crossed the Foyle by Farsatmore: then went to Ballindrait, where Caffer O'Donnell and his girl-wife, Rosa O'Doherty resided. Both of their children were, like young Con O'Neill, away with wet-nurses and foster parents and this would indicate that their decision to accompany the Earls was a last minute affair. The following morning (some say that evening), O'Neill and his host, with their followers set out for Rathmullen and O'Neill went aboard at Midday although Captain Bath did not weigh anchor until midnight, The usual explanation is that this delay was due to the hostile behaviour of Mac Sweeney Fanad. This, we believe, was staged to prevent reprisals from the English, later – seeing that it was from one of his ports that the flight took place. The real reason was that all that fateful day, frantic efforts were being made to find Caffer O'Donnell's children. One of them was found and this what Sir John Davies said of it:

> *He presently repaired (in answer to Earl Rory's summons) with the child towards the place where the Earls lodged, but being met on the way by the Baron of Dungannon and Caffer O'Donnell , himself , they took the infant violently from him which terrified the foster-father so as he escaped by the swiftness of his horse, their horses being tired with travelling.*

The infant thus rescued, was Hugh, Caffer's oldest child, then two years and three months old. He was the prophetic O'Donnell, born with six toes on one foot, who was to drive the English out of Ireland. Who was the foster parent and why did Caffer treat him so

ungraciously? As a foster father he was Caffer's trusted friend and as he could hardly be blamed for not realising the urgency of the summons, we feel that O'Donnell was very annoyed with him for failing to produce the second baby. Thus it was that two young children were unwittingly left behind when the Earls, and their friends, sailed out of the Swilly on the Feast of the Exultation of the Holy Cross. Each of the abandoned children was in direct succession to the Earldoms of Tirowen and TirChonaill, and heirs to vast estates. Soon spies and informers were active in the hunt for the missing children: one of a lad a little over six; the other a suckling babe.

Foremost in the hunt for the O'Neill son was Sir Toby Caulfield for he was armed with a warrant from Chichester, the Lord Deputy, himself, to search out and take into custody the missing boy. Sir Basil Brooke, with an eye on Donegal Castle, obtained a similar commission and each was successful in his quest. Of the two baby-hunters Caulfield was the more rapacious, for no sooner had he captured the young O'Neill than he claimed and seized a substantial slice of O'Neill property for the boy's maintenance. Con O'Neill's subsequent tragic life-story is well documented by Father Meehan who, strange to say, had nothing to tell about the capture and fate of young O'Donnell. Had the King's ministers followed his instructions, literally, both young captives were doomed to oblivion, for this is what Salisbury wrote about them on June 20th 1609.

> *"For the two children, one a child of the late Earl of Tyrone, the other of Caffer O'Donnell , the Tyrconnell's brother, for whose maintenance you wrote some thing will be required. His Majesty is pleased that they will only have such allowance as will befit for such traitorous and ill deserving parents".*

The young O'Donnell was, however, taken by Brooke to Donegal Castle and there reared and educated, as a Protestant, amongst Brooke's own family and their retainers, There the child remained unnoticed by English schemers and Irish intriguers for almost two decades until the death of his brother Hugh, in Louvain, in 1625, left him heir presumptive to his cousin, Hugh Albert, titular Earl of Tirconaill. Both parties thenceforth began to take an interest in him and he emerged in the State papers coupled with his full first cousin, Hugh O'Rorke, son of Mary O'Donnell. She was then the widow of Sir Teig O'Rorke and was a relatively wealthy woman with considerable property, not far away, in County Leitrim. Another relative, somewhere in the Irish background was his aunt, Margaret O'Donnell, while a third was his cousin, the Lady Mary Stuart O'Donnell, whom O'Rorke and O'Donnell were destined to meet in London. One wonders, too, did his path ever cross a further full cousin who was then being fostered and reared, in concealment, perhaps, even in Tirhugh, itself, by the Gallaghers. This youth was Manus, son of Sir Niall Garbh and Nuala O'Donnell, whose name and identity flashed for one brief reference in the history of Tirconaill and then disappeared, in a blaze of glory, as one of Owen Roe's officers who fell in the Battle of Benburb.

Despite his upbringing Caffer O'Donnell's child, in the bawned fortress and Planter town of Donegal, could not escape gleaning knowledge of his background , for the place was then surrounded by friars in hiding, muted bards and harpers, with scholars and swordsmen moving backward and forwards from the Continent in a multitude of smugglers bar-

ques. That ties of tradition and birth proved to be stronger than upbringing is evident from the manner in which, when the opportunity presented itself, he divested himself of the ties into which it can be said he was almost born; for Brooke became his guardian or custodian when he was not more than two years of age.

So far we have not revealed the real Christian name of Caffer O'Donnell's son in exchange for the fictitious Caffer Og (plus Manus) of the O'Donnells genealogies. This will come as we unfold part of the drama into which he was drawn when just on the threshold of manhood.

Early in the year 1625 counter espionage agents in Ireland learned that the young pretenders to the Earldom of Tirowen and Tirconnell were actively engaged in planning the invasion of Ireland, The information was passed on that one of them was to come secretly to Ireland 'to take view of the country' and that Broadhaven or Killybegs was to be the port of entry. Two weeks later, on June 17th, the Lord Deputy informed the Privy Council that TirChonaill's first cousin, the son of Mary O'Donnell was suspect. " some people have lately observed the conduct of Hugh O'Rorke, brother of him who is in the Tower, and the concourse of people unto him where he resides in the County of Leitrim. I wrote him offering him money and recommendation to the King and your Lordships asking them to give him money for his maintenance in England. But I prevailed not. He is a great figure and if there is any stirring times the idlers of the Irishmen of this country will be drawn to him, I desire to be directed by your Lordships and if you prepare a pension for him I will compel him to go over."

This dispatch was, apparently, mislaid before its contents brought forth a decision and, on Christmas Eve, Faulkland forwarded a copy with a covering letter which brought Caffer O'Donnell's son out of oblivion. With the death of his brother, Hugh, in Flanders, he was heir presumptive to his cousin, the young Earl of Tir Chonaill.

> *Dublin Castle, December 24th 1625. Lord Faulkland to Lord Conway : To avoid troubling your Lordship with repetitions of what I have formerly written to my Lords about Hugh O'Rorke I enclose (copy of) my former letter. Kindly read it to the Council and send your directions on it. There is another young gen tleman, Conn Mc Caffra Mac Donnell (sic) an Ulsterman , whose aunt married Tyrone and gave birth to the wife of the Earl of Antrim. Lord Chichester had this young man specially educated by Sir Basil Brooke. He has lately become a member of my household and I find him of good manners, But his blood is great and he would be a danger if ill-affected. I think that competent pensions should be prepared for maintenancing both of them in England and they should be soon thither and put in good hands, I await instructions.*

The Privy Council took Faulkland's advice and a posse was sent down to County Leitrim to bring in the reluctant O'Rorke. The on the 7th June 1926, Faulkland informed the Council that the two young cousins were on their way. "I have sent over Conn Mc Caffra Mac Donnell (sic) and Hugh O'Rorke, brother to him that is in the Tower. The first is next-of-kin to the pretended Earl of Tisconnell (sic) and so nearest to anything that can be claimed by any and is loyal. He might well be made a member of His Majesty's band of

pensioners. In the second his person speaks something for him; I have watched him and had him watched and I find his demeanour fair; and, though his religion is different, his conformity is not hopeless. He has no intention of flying to Spain. I hope that both gentlemen may be given prospects and that their loyalty and good affection may become an example to others."

In his next dispatch, to Lord Conway and the Privy Council, Faulkland, at last, gives Caffer O'Donnell's son his proper surname and with it went a note of concern for his victim's fate. "18th July 1626 …………I am glad you have provided well for Conn O'Donnell and Hugh O'Rorke, as I have requested. Their good position in England will have a good effect here, as people thought that they would be lost men and imprisoned for life. I shall, in consequence, be better able to do His Majesty's service and prevents many evil which might otherwise ensue".

The State Papers tell that each of the young men received an annual pension of £100. O'Donnell's was unconditional and was to run until he was "placed on the list of His Majesty's pensioners in ordinary" O'Rorke was to get his for life "in the hope of his conformity but he must first and fully and clearly resign, in the Court of Chancery, all right and title which he pretends to any lands in Ireland lately planted by British settlers." This was a strange proviso considering that Hugh O'Rorke and his elder brother, Brian, sons of Sir Teig O'Rorke and Mary O'Donnell, were declared illegitimate by the legal planners of the Leitrim Plantation on the grounds that the boy's mother was the cast-off wife of that archcaster-off of wives Sir Donnell O'Cahan.

That neither O'Rorke nor O'Donnell remained very long in England is evident if we synthesise the State Papers, quoted above, with those reflecting the career of their cousin, the Lady Mary Stuart O'Donnell. This little, adventuress needs no introduction to our readers, although her ultimate fate is still unknown. The Abbé Mac Geoghegan tells that it was she who planned the swift and spectacular escape to Flanders by her cousins from the net into which they were so artfully and cautiously thrust by the Irish Lord Deputy and the English Privy Council. We find the Lady Mary, herself, doing likewise, in the spring of 1626/7 when forewarned that her arrest was imminent for the part played by her in their escape. This reveals that Conn O'Donnell's period of residence in England was of a very short duration; and, in view of his education and upbringing, was a very remarkable reaction. There is sufficient evidence to show that his companion Hugh O'Rorke, eventually died in the service of Spain" but O'Donnells fate is still a mystery; or conjectural, if we are compelled to support what now follows with explicit proof.

We can, at least, assume that Conn O'Donnell, at last had an opportunity of rejoining or meeting with the Lady Rosa O'Doherty his mother, who parted with him in 1607 when she was merely a teenage matron. The reunion and what followed we must leave to the imagination.'

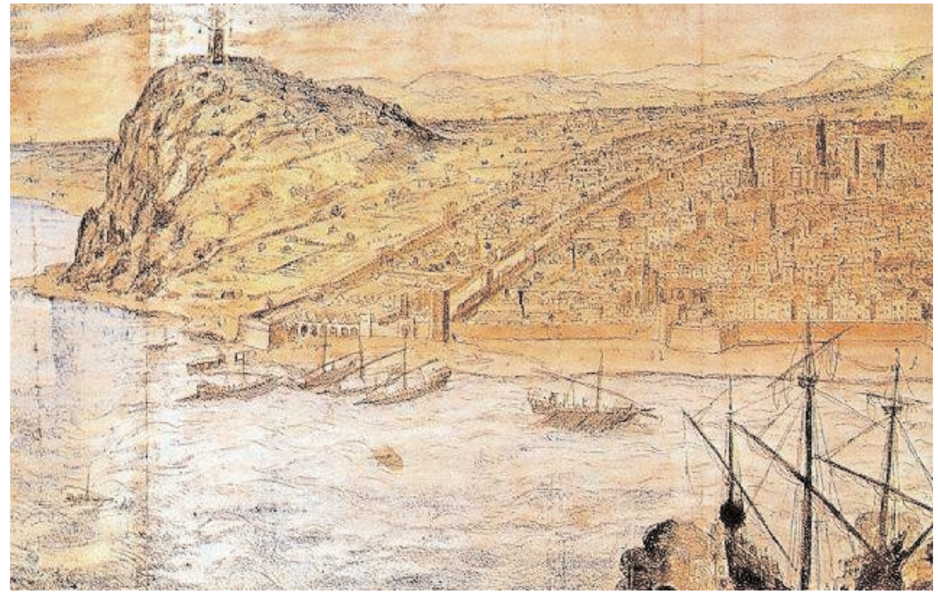


Donegal Castle- *The O'Donnell Tower with Brooke Mansion Attached.*

Henry O'Neill was at the time of the flight the leader of the Irish Regiment in the Low Countries. He was the son of Hugh O'Neill. His position probably had an unnerving affect on the English and may have had made them more severe towards the house of O'Neill than would otherwise be the case. The English could see that Henry O'Neill was a military leader in waiting for the O'Neills and the Irish generally. He met the Flight of the Earls party after they arrived on the continent and escorted them out of the Spanish Netherlands on their journey to Rome. He was killed, almost certainly by members of his own regiment, in a row some years later in Spain.

John O'Neill or **Seán O Neill** was the son of Hugh O'Neill. He travelled on the ship from Rathmullen. He went to Rome and later was a soldier in the Spanish Old Irish Regiment in Low Lands first and later of the Irish Regiment in Spain. He rose in rank to become the leader of the regiment in Spain. He had tried unsuccessfully to return to Ireland in the 1626 in an expedition jointly lead by him and his friend Hugh Albert O'Donnell who served in the Spanish navy. Seán O'Neill was a person of considerable military reputation. He was seen as the successor of Hugh O'Neill and was the undisputed choice of the Ulster Irish to lead them in the 1641 rebellion. Many of his Irish officers would come with him to Ireland. He had led his regiment with distinction. His men had faith in him and many of his most senior officers saw their own importance in being part of his regiment. He had just recently led the Irish Regiment to many successes in the war with the Catalans in 1640. January 1641 found him on the steps of the fort of Montejuic just outside the

walls of Barcelona exhorting his men to take the hill and the fort. The hill of Montejuic is just south of Barcelona and overlooks the city. Taking this fort just outside the city walls would provide the Spaniards with a stage to take the Catalan city. The attack seemed to occur prematurely. The Catalans, sensing that all was not well with their enemies, suddenly counterattacked and repulsed the Spaniards. There were many casualties among the Spaniards and among the Irish Regiment. Maybe the Catalans picked out Seán O Neill. Maybe his dress or his demeanour pointed him out as a leader. Maybe they were just lucky. Among the dead was Seán O'Neill.



Barcelona and Montejuic Hill

Eoghan Rua O'Neill was the nephew of Hugh O'Neill. His father was Art O'Neill a half brother of Hugh O'Neill. He rose to prominence and the leadership of Spain's old Irish Regiment in the Low Lands after the death of Henry O'Neill. He led the regiment to victory in the Rhineland. Held Arras for Spain against the French until the French allowed him to withdraw. French were very impressed with his efforts and encouraged him to change sides. He remained loyal to Spain. He returned to Ireland to lead the 1641 rebellion in the autumn of 1642. He married Roise Ni Dhochartaigh, the widow of Caffer O'Donnell when Caffer died in Rome. In 1641 she wrote a letter home to Donegal enquiring how matters then stood as follows-

> *'Guím sibh, má's eidir libh, gach minsgela dá mbenann le coigeadh Uladh d'fhágail agus a cur chugainn, agus cia as beo nó as marbh dá n-uaislibh agus cionnas atá Tír Chonaill……………*
>
> *'I pray you, if you can, to obtain and send to us every detail you can regarding the Ulster province and whether your nobles are alive or dead and how stands Tirconnell……………………*

He successfully defeated an army from Scotland under General Munro at Benburb, County Tyrone. He was a competent field commander and had all of the tricks of a con-



The Town Hall – Hotel De Ville- Louvain

tinental soldier together with a few of his own. He had poor political skills and was unable to make much of an impression politically outside of Ulster. The Old English (Na Sean Gaeil) distrusted him and the feeling was probably mutual. As a consequence he was unable to follow up on the success he had at Benburb. He seemed to think he could reach some accommodation with the Ulster Protestants, particularly the Scotch element among the Planters, but the best he could achieve was and uneasy truce. He died at Cloughoughter, County Cavan in 1649 just after Oliver Cromwell arrived in Ireland. On his death bed he realised that his army was in great danger and tried unsuccessfully to will the command to his son Henry O'Neill. His wife Roise returned to the Low Lands and was buried in Louvain. The Thomas Davis poem Lament for Owen Roe was seen as inspirational prior to independence. The lines dealing with the sense of loss at his death are memorable.

Sheep without a shepherd,
When the snow shut out the sky,
Why did you leave us Owen,
Why did you die?

Senator Bobby Kennedy would write that those lines haunted him as he took the train back from Dallas with the remains of his dead brother President Jack Kennedy in November 1963.

The Fiddle tune '*Cumha Eoghan Rua (Lament for Owen Roe)* was also composed in his memory.

Aodh Dubh O'Neill was the grandson of Art O'Neill the younger half -brother of Hugh O'Neill. He was also the nephew of Eoghan Rua O'Neill. He was born in Brussels while his father was at university there. He had never been to Ireland until he came to Donegal with Eoghan Rua in 1642. His failure to wrest the leadership of the army from Bishop Heber Mc Mahon after the death of Eoghan Rua probably made Scarrifsholais inevitable. He spoke Irish and Spanish well but spoke English with a foreign accent and this proved a significant handicap given that many of the Irish were by the time of the Cromwellian wars using English as a first language. He made little attempt to establish a political reputation while in Ireland and this may in part explain how Heber Mac Mahon beat him to become leader after Eoghan Rua's death. His military reputation was considerable and his defence of Clonmel and Limerick against the Cromwellians with limited resources added to that reputation. He was betrayed at Limerick by Fennell one of his Old English officers. He was put on trial for treason after the surrender at Limerick but claimed the protection due to a captured career soldier. He succeeded in dividing the court-martial so that they disagreed over whether he should be executed and finally left his fate to Cromwell. In England, Spain claimed him as a Spanish soldier and successfully sought his release. He died on the continent.



Doe Castle

Henry Rua O'Neill was the son of Eoghan Rua O'Neill. He was a member of the old Irish Regiment in the Low Lands led by his father. He returned to Ireland before his father did and was involved in the earlier episodes of the war in 1641. When Eoghan Rua died in 1649, Henry O'Neill unsuccessfully argued the leadership of the Army should be given to Aodh Dubh then holed up in the walled city of Clonmel. Lieutenant-General Con Mac

Cormack O'Neill he also argued should be given command of the army in Ulster with a view to bring it to Clonmel where command would be handed over to Aodh Dubh. Henry O'Neill said that Aodh Dubh thought like Eoghan. Bishop Heber Mc Mahon argued otherwise and won the leadership. The army remained in Ulster. Aodh Dubh's successes at Clonmel would be in vain. Henry O'Neill argued against giving battle at Scarrifsholais on the grounds that the army was too poorly equipped to give battle. He told Bishop Mc Mahon in terms of unselfish patriotism-

> *We are the only army left whose devotion to our country is unquestioned; if we fail, never again can we be recruited. We cannot afford even to risk defeat. Delay is often braver than wild courage and this Sir, we urge you is such an occasion. My father would protract time and wheel and turn a thousand times to save the life of a single soldier; much more would he do for the safety of a whole army……..the art and science of war cannot be learned in a mere day like a paternoster. It is no disparagement unto your lordship to give way to a profes sional soldier in this time of terrible danger to our country, to our religion and prosperity. We have here the Lieutenant-General (Mc Cormack O'Neill) whose devotion to the army and country is unquestioned. It is the wish of all of us that he takes command…………………' Note (2)*

Bishop Mc Mahon in reply accused Henry O'Neill of cowardice. He would not give up command to McCormack O' Neill. The Ulster army was heavily defeated at Scarrifsholais. Henry O'Neill was captured in the aftermath of the defeat and brutally killed on the orders of Sir Charles Coote, the Cromwellian leader. After heavy losses in the Scarrifsholais battle Bishop Heber Mc Mahon became separated from the main force and this allowed Mac Cormack O'Neill to assume command to lead what was left of the army to safety.

HUGH ALBERT O'DONNELL

There can be little doubt that of all the persons mentioned in this article Hugh Albert is the one that most was written about while he was alive. The O'Neills are largely known by their actions. They had few poets to praise them when they were alive. They received much support and praise from Irish opinion only when they were dead or beaten.

Hugh Albert on the other hand had Eoghan Rua Mac A Bháird and Micheál O'Cléirigh to ensure that he would not be forgotten if they had anything to do with it. He was brought up in Louvain by the Duke Albert, the Governor of the Low Countries and took the name Hugh Albert to honour that person.

Eoghan Rua Mac A Bháird the bard who accompanied the Earls to Rome wrote a number of poems and dedicated a collection to Hugh Albert called- 'An leabhrain ainmnightear d'Aodh.' He also wrote a poem that placed Nuala O'Donnell standing on the grave of her two brothers in Rome – 'An bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart' – the woman who found time on the grave. This poem was later translated by James Clarence Mangan and called 'The woman with the piercing wail'

Hugh Albert was with Seán O'Neill the two principal Irish leaders in exile in Europe in the first half of the 17th Century. In the 1620's the two of them planned to lead an expedition sponsored by Spain to Ireland and to establish an Irish Republic. Was this the first suggestion of seeking a Republic? They would place no further faith in Kings of any description. The plan was that only the Gaelic Irish (Na Sean Gaeil) would be involved in the expedition as the Old English (Na Sean Gaill) could not be relied on. They had let their fathers down in the past they would not be put in a position to now let them down. The Spanish and the English made peace and the plan was shelved.

He was an officer in the Spanish Navy and when the 1641 rebellion broke out in Ireland he requested permission in 1642 to be released from the service so that he could go to Ireland. Permission was refused and he saw service for Spain at the Naval Battle of Tarragona between Spain and France in 1642. France had come into the Catalan War on the side of the Catalans. Spain lost the battle and in the aftermath Hugh Albert's ship was attacked and he lost his life. His death, following the death of Seán O'Neill, in the same war, was a cruel blow to Irish expectations of leadership from Spain.

And that autumn, Eoghan Rua O' Neill and Aodh Dubh O' Neill with about 100 officers and men sailed for Doe Castle in Donegal to lead the 1641 rebellion.

(1) "Tirconaill in 1641" by Reverend P.Ó Gallachóir in *Father John Colgan O.F.M. 1592-1658. Essays in commemoration of the Third Centenary of his Death*.

(2) T.S. O'Cahan – *Owen Roe O'Neill*

(3) Photograph of Celtic Cross Tombstone at Rathmullen courtesy of Meg Kennedy.

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BALLINDRAIT AND THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

Belinda Mahaffy

There is a general awareness that O'Neill and O'Donnell met up at St. Eunan's bridge in Ballindrait and proceeded together from there to Rathmullan where ninety-nine people boarded a ship and left Ireland for ever. Generations of historians have cultivated the image of a huge troupe of richly-attired people on horseback travelling through a very small village, thus marking its place in history.

This image cannot be verified by local folklore simply because the Plantation of Ulster took place soon afterwards, and all of the native Irish who lived in East Donegal and who perhaps would have known some of the details of this event, were removed from their fertile lands and homesteads to the more barren areas of west Donegal. People who settled there afterwards would have had no knowledge of this event. Local resident, Tommy McGinty tells me that twenty years ago he researched the local history of Ballindrait and found no folklore relating to the Flight of the Earls. His family, on both sides, have long been residents of the village and folklore on the Flight just did not survive



Ballindrait bridge. The pub on the far left on the other side of St.Eunan's Bridge (centre) is said to be the site on which the group assembled prior to their departure to Rathmullan..

This is one occasion in Irish history when one must look at primary sources to attempt to re-construct events. I have relied heavily on *Destruction by Peace, Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale,* by the late Micheline Kerney Walsh.[1] I had the pleasure of being introduced to her by the late Ben O'Donnell in the early nineties at an O'Donnell clan gathering in Lifford Old Courthouse. Her book of primary sources contains a series of more than two hundred and forty letters, reports and memorials written between 1602 and 1616 which were lodged in Spanish archives. Kearney Walsh translated these from Spanish and many

BALLINDRAIT AND THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

had never previously been published. By themselves, these documents tell the story of the Flight and of the Earls' sojourn on the Continent.
Another source which Kearney Walsh quotes is the account written in Rome by Tadhg O'Cianáin, the chronicler who sailed with the Earls. His manuscript, preserved in the archives of the Franciscan monastery at Dun Mhuire, Killiney, was first edited and translated by Fr. Paul Walsh in *Archivium Hibernicum*, volumes 2 – 4, 1913 – 1915, and was published in book form in 1916, under the title, *The Flight of the Earls*.[2] In 1972, Imeacht na nIarlaí, a modern version of O'Cianáin's narrative, was edited by Pádraig de Barra, with an introduction and extensive notes and comments by Cardinal Tomás O' Fiaich.[3]

O'Cianáin writes this part of his account of events during Hugh O'Neill's journey to Ballindrait from hearsay. The account refers to what took place from Wednesday 12th September 1607:

> *On Wednesday night they say, he travelled all night with his impediments, I mean his women and children: and it is likewise reported that the Countess, his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and, weeping, said she could go no further; whereupon the Earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her in the place, if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal.*



A view of Ballindrait village with St.Eunan's bridge in the foreground

The Countess would have had good cause for being exceedingly weary, because on that day, O'Cianáin tells us, O'Neill's journey had brought him across the Sperrin mountains via Muintirlooney and Burndennet.

Some confusion comes into O'Cianáin's account here. He writes: "they crossed the river Foyle some five miles below Strabane." Much speculation arises as to the route O'Neill's party followed after arriving at Burndennet which lies south of O'Neill's fort and port at

Dunnalong where they kept their boats which they used to sail up the river Foyle to Lifford when they wished to visit the O'Donnells. It was also the port at which ships carrying mercenaries from Scotland who were hired by O'Neill and O'Donnell used to berth. Now it was occupied by an English force from Docwra's Derry – a force which threatened the lives of O'Neill and his party. Did the group cross the Foyle at Burndennet in darkness? How many people knew about the Flight? Did the O'Donnells send over a boat which carried them safely over to Tír Chonaill? Would they have landed at Carrickmore or Porthall and then made their way via Rossgeir and Cavanacor to Ballindrait? Clady ford on the river Finn is roughly the same distance from Strabane on its southern side as Burndennet is to Strabane on its northern side. We must remember that all of Ireland was heavily wooded at this period so O'Neill's party could have circumnavigated Strabane and followed the banks of the Finn to Clady. This ford would have been safe to use and there would have been direct paths from here to Ballindrait. Yet if O'Neill's party had used this route, would not O'Cianáin mention the river Finn in his narrative? Perhaps O'Neill was afraid of pursuit from Dunnalong and so he decided to put an expanse of water between himself and Docwra's followers, therefore he probably crossed the Foyle somewhere near Burndennet.



St. Eunan's bridge across the river Deele

FROM BALLINDRAIT TO RATHMULLAN

At midday on the 13th, they arrived at Ballindrait, the home of the Earl of Tyrconnell's younger brother, Cathbarr O'Donnell. His home in Ballindrait was called Caffirscourt.

> *There, the group rested from midday to nightfall, when they continued their jour ney, accompanied by Cathbarr O'Donnell and probably also his wife and other members of his household. Cathbarr was married to Rois O'Dogherty.*

There is just one local tradition which states that the group assembled on the Murlog side

of St. Eunan's bridge just before they set off for Rathmullan.. The site of the pub is pointed out as the actual assembly point. As in later years, when emigrants went off to America, perhaps a cleric – probably a Franciscan - blessed them at this place before they embarked on their perilous journey.
Departing at nightfall, this group of perhaps twenty to twenty five people or less, obviously would not have wished to draw attention to their passing so they would have avoided Raphoe. A possible route may have been via Tamnawood to cross at the ford over the river Sully at Mullinagung. Feddyglass wood is probably a remnant of the vast forest which they then passed through on their way to Farsetmore. They probably used a boat to cross this ford on the Swilly. Was it a normal ferry boat or a boat which Rory O'Donnell would have had ready for them? Were the boatmen sworn to secrecy or were they soldiers of Rory's?

All this took place during the night and, at daybreak on Friday 14th, they reached Ramelton. Possibly, they were received at Killydonnel by the Franciscans who would have offered them and their weary horses refreshments and a brief rest. At Ramelton I have been told, there is still pointed out a road which the Earls took when they came into the town and that particular road lay along by the shore. Every existing tradition points to the fact that they kept to the most densely forested and sparsely populated routes via forest paths and shore roads and under cover of darkness. It would have been a very swift, silent and fearful flight which these weary travellers undertook. They had now become refugees fearful of discovery and fearful of pursuit. The last eight miles of their journey lay along the shores of Lough Swilly to Rathmullan where, O'Cianáin records, their ship was at anchor and where:

> *They found Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and the aforesaid gentlemen (Maguire, O'Brien, Tully and Bath) together with many of the tribe and followers of the Earl, putting stores of food and drink into the ship.*

Rathmullan closed one chapter on the lives of the Earls and opened another of a perilous voyage and a life of exile in Europe. The number of passengers on board has always been a bone of contention. Paul Walsh, O'Cianáin's translator, has declared that fifty six individuals from among the associate lords, ladies, children, and gentry of the Earls went on board. Others may have already gone ahead or joined the Earls later in Flanders.

CAFFIRSCOURT

Over the years, many O'Donnell historians have agonised over where exactly at Ballindrait was Caffir's home situated. The Ordnance Survey memoirs for Donegal contains the following memoir which may perhaps point in the general direction of where this building was more likely to be:

> *At Ballindrait on an eminence rising over the river Deele and opposite to the mill, the ruins of a castle and garden walls may yet be traced, though not with out difficulty. This was the residence of Sir Richard Hansard, to whom the town of Lifford and the lands adjoining it were granted by King James I , in consid eration of his eminent services against Shane O'Neill and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty.:*[4]

In Lifford is a very old house known as Ballyduff House which is now the property of the Daly family. Ballyduff was the ancient name for Lifford. The cellars of this house are of a much older construction than the rest of this building and local tradition has it that the house was begun by Sir Richard Hansard as a dwelling for himself but he died suddenly in 1620 and work on the building was abandoned. Hansard was the original Undertaker for Lifford and the surrounding area. His estate fell into the hands of his younger brother who appears to have been the family black-sheep and conditions in Hansard's property deteriorated rapidly. Sir Richard's son came over from Yorkshire and set himself up in Ballindrait for a period to try and wrest the property back from his uncle. He was unsuccessful and returned to England. In these straitened circumstances, would the younger Hansard have had the ability to build and fortify a castle at Ballindrait? Did he occupy Caffir's abandoned home? Much of Hansard's property was eventually bought by the Earl of Erne. The remainder ended up in the Abercorn estate. Many mills for corn and flax have stood on this site. Even today the site is occupied by Smyth's Daleside Feeds which is owned by Donegal Creameries. Perhaps one day an archaeologist will discover how many buildings were built there.

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1 Micheline Kerney Walsh, *Destruction by Peace, Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale*, (Armagh, 1986)

2 Tadhg O'Cianáin, *The Flight of the Earls,* Walsh, (ed), (Maynooth, 1916)

3 Pádraig de Barra, Tomás O' Fiaich, (Introduction), *Imeacht na nIarlaí,* (Dublin, 1972)

4 *Ordnance Survey Memoirs,* Vol. 39, (Belfast, 1997), p. 14

AODH ÓG DUBH OF RAMELTON, THE SENIOR OF THE RACE OF DÁLACH, 1537 – 1618

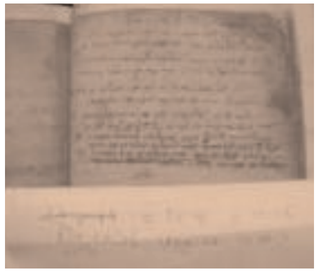
Mary Haggan

In May 1592, in the Book of the Archbishop of Cashel, the writer stated:

> *In O'Donnell's country there are three principal families*
> *O'Donnell, Sir Hugh and his children; Hugh Duff, his uncle;*
> *and the descendants of Calvagh. Hugh Duff had the*
> *ancientest right to the superiority, being put from it*
> *by Manus O'Donnell, this O'Donnell's father.* [1]

Hugh Duff was Aodh Óg Dubh of Ramelton, also known as Hugh Mac Hugh Duff and Aodh Mac Aodh Dubh. His story is of interest because after the Flight of the Earls, when the other O'Donnell leaders of Tír Chonaill were departed, he remained in his castle at Ramelton and was regarded as the senior chieftain although he was never inaugurated as the O'Donnell. Although he continued living in his territory it was clear that his culture and society were under threat of extinction with the rapid advance of the Plantation and the arrival of settlers into east Ulster. The poems of Aodh Óg Dubh, that we know of, were written during the two years before his death in 1618. From his poetry, it is clear that he had hoped for the return of the Earls with forces strong enough to bring about a Gaelic resurgence. That hope ended with the death of Hugh O'Neill in Rome in 1616. After that, the Iomarbhagh na bhFileadh, The Contention of the Bards, began. Aodh Óg Dubh was a Poet of the Contention and from his own words, we can learn of his anger and grief in the face of defeat. During his long life he was involved in the endemic warfare of the Tudor period in Ireland and the Battle of Kinsale. At the time of the Flight of the Earls he was living in his castle at Ramelton only a few miles along the coast from Rathmullan. He was the Chieftain of his territory, a famed cavalry soldier, and he lived to be over eighty years of age in spite of a dangerous lifestyle. The information that we have of him is contained in the annals and official records, as well as in the poetry that was written to him and by him after 1607.

There is a description of Aodh Óg Dubh of Ramelton by Lughaidh O'Cleary in his ***Life of Red Hugh***. Aodh Óg Dubh had signalled his disapproval of the hasty inauguration of Red Hugh in 1592 by his absence from the ceremony in Kilmacrennan. However, the following year, he submitted to him, along with the other dissidents. According to the State records the submission took place after Aodh Óg Dubh was defeated by Red Hugh's forces at Belleek Castle. According to O'Cleary, Aodh Óg Dubh submitted after Red Hugh had made peace with the Queen's representative in Dundalk.



Seventeenth century copy of one of Aodh Óg Dubh's poems.

First came Aodh, son of Aodh Dubh Ó'Domhnaill, the senior of the race of Dálach, son of Murchertach, besides Aodh, son of Maghnus, who was thought most likely to be at the head of the territory after him. [2]

This described Aodh Óg Dubh's position among the O'Donnells. He was the Tánaiste and occupied the Tánaiste's portion that were the territories known as Gleann Eile and Tír Mac Gabhrain between the rivers Leannan and Swilly. This area included the parishes of Aughnish, Aughinunshin and part of Conwal. Lughaidh O'Cleary continued his description of Aodh Óg Dubh as follows:

He was a comely, well-mannered man, kind, friendly, honourable and hospitable, dexterous in the use of arms, a soldier in martial exploits, a poet as regards poetic skill, and of him it was said throughout Erin commonly that he was the last generation of the Gaelic heroes, for he was likened to Lughaidh,



Aodh Dubh's Castle at Ramelton.

son of Cian, or to Trolius, son of Priam in his horsemanship. He was equal to the hound of the Smith, for he never made an erring cast, and hardly ever did anyone escape from him in deadly slaughter or red carnage, as was the custom with the Grecian warrior Achilles, son of Peleus. Moreover he did not go into a fight or skirmish, into a dispute or a struggle, that he did not wound someone somehow. He was a vindictive man and keen to avenge his wrongs, like Conal Cearnach, son of Amergin, so that he was never taken unawares so long as he lived.[3]

This description follows the conventional form of a bardic eulogy in which the hero is compared to the heroes of the past. It begins with Aodh Óg Dubh's peaceful attributes: his hospitality, comeliness, and poetic skill, and then describes at greater length his warrior's skill. Bardic praise is exaggerated although, in the case of Aodh Óg Dubh, his military reputation is confirmed in the Annals. O'Cleary's description is revealing in that it shows the hierarchical protocol among the nobility in Gaelic society which dictated the obedience and submission that were due from a lesser chief to a greater one. In submitting to Red Hugh, Aodh Óg Dubh was conforming to the custom of his society. Red Hugh's father, Hugh Mac Manus, had stepped down from the Chieftaincy to allow his son to be inaugurated. Aodh Óg Dubh had been expected to succeed and was in opposition until Red Hugh demonstrated his greater military and political strength that was buttressed by the approval of the Lord Deputy.

At the time of Red Hugh's inauguration Aodh Óg Dubh was at least fifty- six years of age and had many battles behind him. The first mention of him is in the Annals of the Four Masters for the year 1564 when he was under siege in the tower of Donegal Castle from the supporters of the recently inaugurated chieftain, Calvagh O'Donnell. At this time the forces of Shane O'Neill came to Aodh Óg Dubh's aid.[4] In 1567 he was with Hugh Mac Manus outside Letterkenny and led the initial cavalry attack against the larger army of Shane O'Neill at the battle of Farsetmore.[5] In 1577 he was occupying a castle on the southern border of O'Donnell territory near Bundoran when he was attacked by O'Connor Sligo and the English Captain Malbie. In the course of this battle Aodh Óg Dubh killed the son of Cathal Clerech 'with one cast of a spear'.[6]

Aodh Óg Dubh was the youngest son of the Chieftain Hugh Dubh who died in 1537 so Aodh Óg Dubh's birth was probably 1538. The elegy written to him by Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird refers to his mother as 'Máire'[7]. His first wife was Marie O'Rourke with whom he had a son, Cathbhar. Cathbhar's grandson was Brig. Daniel O'Donnell who brought the Cathach of Columbkille to a Franciscan monastery in Belgium for safe keeping. Aodh Óg Dubh's last wife was Margaret, daughter of O'Connor Sligo, with whom he had two sons. He had four other sons as well. [8]

That he was well versed in the history and genealogies of the Gael is evident in his poetry. A high level of literacy had also been demonstrated by his older brother, Manus, who wrote poetry and commissioned the writing of the ***Life of St. Columbille***. The cultural influences on Aodh Óg Dubh came from the Bardic Schools that were the powerhouses of Gaelic society. They were patronised by the Chieftains, and were the central headquarters for knowledge, advice, planning and public relations. These schools, where the lawyers, genealogists, and historians practiced their professions, were the bane of the English because they sustained the pride and self-righteousness of the Irish nobility.

They hold their pedigree forever to prove descent from the ancient barbarous kings of the realm who were there before the English conquest. [9]

Tír Chonaill was the last part of Ireland to retain the Gaelic system. It was able to resist the Norman conquest because of its unified military strength and isolated location.

However from the fifteenth century there was more contact with Europe through a lucrative trade in fish. While on a pilgrimage to Rome, 1510-12, Aodh Óg Dubh's father visited the court of Henry VIII and received an earldom. His older brother, Manus, was known to dress like the English king.

For the most part Aodh Óg Dubh was favourably regarded by the English. Descriptions of him in the State Papers from the 1580s onward refer to him as a gentleman, one who is loyal to the Queen and will supply troops if requested. With the arrival of Captain Henry Docwra's large fleet in Lough Foyle in the spring of 1600 the establishment of English garrisons in the north west began. In July of that year a battle took place at Derry between the English soldiers and Red Hugh's forces. The English soldiers had put their horses outside of the fortification to graze, and Red Hugh's army staged a successful ambush of the guards and horses and took a large number of horses. Docwra pursued them with his troops.

> *They made a courageous attack upon O'Donnell for (the recovery of) their spoils, and of what was under their protection. O'Donnell sustained the onset valiantly and resolutely; and a fierce battle was fought between them. One of O'Donnell's kinsmen, namely, Hugh, son of Hugh Duv's son of Hugh Roe, made a well-aimed cast of a javelin at the General, Sir Henry Docwra, and striking him directly in the forehead, wounded him very severely. When the General was thus pierced, he returned back; and the English, seeing their chief, their advisor, and their mighty man, wounded, returned home in sorrow and disgrace, and pursued their horses no further.* [10]

Docwra wrote his account of the incident from which it is evident that he did not realise that Aodh Óg Dubh had thrown the javelin.

> *When they saw us cominge, they turned heade and made readie to receive us; wee charged them, & at the first encounter I was stricken with a horseman's staf in the Foreheade, in so much as I fell for deade, & was a goode while deprived of my sences;….. I kepte my Bedd of this wound by the space of a fortneth, my chamber a week after, & then I came abroade.* [11]

A change in English opinion of Aodh Óg Dubh was recorded in 1601 when Captain Willis wrote to Sir Robert Cecil from Derry that the English had taken Aodh Óg Dubh's country and forfeited his castle that was razed down one side. A brother of Neal Garve with one hundred foot soldiers were then left there as a garrison. [12]

Aodh Óg Dubh was at the muster at Ballymote that gathered for the long march to Kinsale. He was over sixty-three years of age. After the defeat at Kinsale, Red Hugh's departure to Spain left a lingering hope that he would bring another, greater fleet back with him to turn the tide. However Red Hugh died in Spain shortly after his arrival. His

brother Rory and Hugh O'Neill made their way to Mellifont to make peace with Lord Deputy Mountjoy. They were pardoned and a treaty was signed that effectively brought an end to the Gaelic order. Eoghan Rua Mac an Bhaird, Chief Poet of the O'Donnells received a pardon at the same time. He wrote of the journey to Mellifont:

> *Dána an turas trialltar sonn,*
> *fada atá ag tocht na thimcholl,*
> *geall re hoighidh an eachtra*
> *doiligh earr na huaisleachta*
>
> *Bold is the journey attempted here;*
> *long has it been debated.*
> *The expedition is equal to a tragic fate:*
> *hard is the end of nobility* [13]

After the signing of the Treaty of Mellifont, Rory O'Donnell went to London and received an Earldom. In the same year Neal Garve was inaugurated at Kilmacrennan which meant that the Earl of Tír Chonaill and the Chieftain of the O'Donnells were different people. Five years later there was neither Earl nor Chieftain in Tír Chonaill. Rory was buried in Rome, and Neal Garve was in prison. He died in the Tower of London in 1625. During this period, while the Plantation was proceeding apace, Aodh Óg Dubh remained in his castle, Cahir Anuske, 'the Seat on the Water', at Ramelton, and some of his sons were also listed as holding land in that area. In an Inquisition of 1610 he was allowed to hold 1,000 acres and the castle, at a higher rent than the Plantation Servitors paid, for the duration of his life. After that it was to pass to Sir Richard Hansard. [14] A map, of 1610, of the escheated counties of Ulster, attributed to John Norden, shows the extent of the Plantation around Lough Swilly. On the east side, the area of the Laggan was divided up among new tenants, but on the west side of Lough Swilly, in Aodh Óg Dubh's country, the landscape remained unchanged. The same was true of the landscape to the north including Rathmullan, and the Fanad and Inishowen peninsulas.[15] This may explain, in part, why Rathmullan was chosen as the place of departure in 1607, because it was outside of the English sights.

After the Flight of the Earls, Aodh Óg Dubh and his sons were listed in land surveys, and in subsequent military campaigns. However the most interesting documents concerning Aodh Óg Dubh at this time are poems that were composed between 1607-1618. Some were written to him from the south of Ireland and abroad. Some were his own compositions and are part of the collection known as Iomarbhagh na bhFileadh, the Contention of the Bards. During 1608-09 an intriguing poem was written to Aodh Óg Dubh by Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, Chief Poet to the O'Donnells, from the continent. Eoghan Ruadh died in 1609, and the poem appears to have been written after the death of Rory O'Donnell in 1608 because it address Aodh Óg Dubh as 'Leader of the host of Gulbain Guirt and the hope of his country'.[16] The poem was written to accompany a book that was sent to Aodh Óg Dubh. The contents of the book were described as being of great importance, that which would bring about outstanding results. The book was to be given to Aodh Óg Dubh first, and then it was to be passed on among the Irish and Old English. It is the book itself that was addressed in the poem:

A leabhrain ainmnighther d'Aodh,
atá libh leighoinn neamhdhaor,
go hInis bfodghloin na b Fionn,
bhus milis d'ogbhuidh Eirionn. v.1

O little book that bearest Aodh's name,
in thee is ample lore, bound for the Island of the Fair,
of bright sward, lore that will be sweet to Ireland's hosts'

The description of the book's contents is enigmatic:

Atá arna tionol sonna
cnuasach glan deas ndioghloma,
do triath sluaghaidh Gulban Guirt,
as cluanuidh ughdar n-ordhuirc v.3

Teagusc diadha ar a dhruim sin,
eolus ealadhna an glaisgidh,
d'iath Eirionn agoibh anois,
leighionn caguidh is cunntois. v.4

Ag ceangal chairdeas a siodh,
ag toirmeasg uilc is fhairbriogh,
no ag triall caguidh gi-be bheas,
ni habuidh e acht led t'oideas. v.5

Here is gathered a fair store of ears of corn
gleaned from the field of famous authors
for the leader of the host of Gulban Guirt.

Godly instruction besides,
and knowledge of the art of arms
thou hast now for the land of Erin,
with training in warfare and computation.

Whoso may be forming friendships in peace,
thwarting evil and persecution, or undertaking war,
he is not ripe without thy teaching.

The poet instructed that the book was to be shared with those in Ireland who would join in a common cause, that is the Gaelic nobility and the Norman-Irish families who are referred to an the Old English. These became allies in the later Confederacy.

Ar neacht do shliocht Gaoidheal Ghlais
na ceil gach iul da n-uarais,
na ar Sheanghallaibh foid na bhFionn,

ler cheanglamair oig Eirionn. v.11

Ar son go sealbhuighim sibh
d'U Dhomhnaill tar fonn b'Fionntain,
an fonn ar gach taobh taomchuil,
ronn ris gach n-aon d'Eirionnchaibh v.14

Conceal from the race of Gaoidheal Glas
nor from the Old English of the land of the Fair,
no knowledge that thou hast found,
with whom we, the warriors of Ireland, have united.

Though I present thee to Ó'Domhnaill
above all in Fintan's land
go around the land on every side,
share with every Irishman.

The poems that we know of that were written by Aodh Óg Dubh were composed towards the end of his life when he was over eighty. In them the warrior reappeared in literary armour as he joined with other Ulster poets who refuted the claims of Clare poet, Tadhg (Mac Daire) Mac Bruaideadha, that the North of Ireland did not have an historic right of sovereignty. In 1616 Tadhg Mac Daire released a poem addressed to a fifth century poet and teacher, Torna Eigeas. Torna was the teacher of Niall and Corc, and he taught that it was Eireamhon of the North who arranged for the division of Ireland and who gave the South to Eibhear. The giver of the gift was the Northerner, Eireamhon. Over a thousand years later Tadhg Mac Daire contested Torna's account in his poem, Olc do Thagrais a Thorna.[17]

It is Eibhear who was the eldest of the
illustrious consecrated race.
He, the head of the fleet when Donn had died,
did not get the land from a younger brother. v. 7

I blame you Torna all the more
as it was not through want of knowledge that you omitted
what you omitted but that you did not do your best for us.
v.29

Not to defend Corc but to extol the fame of Niall
you spoke as you did when pleading for Corc of Caiseal.
v.30
That each tribe should have a part of its own stock
to defend the lore of its race – as I see now
in the case of Corc – is what is best in my opinion. v.31

The reaction to this poem from Aodh Óg Dubh and other Ulster poets was swift and furious, and has surprised scholars ever since.

What then are we to make of this squabble, this literary in-fight,
which seems to turn a blind eye to the ruin of Gaeldom and to have lost all
sense of reality? What can these poets have thought,
to invest so much energy in the minutae of abstruse lore,
while all around them Gaelic Ireland was being raped and
plundered? [18]

We may wonder why Aodh Óg Dubh did not direct his anger towards the English. That there was no genuine communication between the English and the Irish is apparent in the records from each side. This was determined by the cultural and linguistic divide, as well as the mutual arrogance of both parties. In their respective records we may read how each perceived the other and how words and promises did not correspond to actions. On the other hand, there was a passionate and direct communication among the bards which we may study to discern their thoughts especially for this period when the relationship of bard and patron was disrupted. Tadhg Mac Daire still enjoyed the comfortable patronage of the Earl of Thomond, but support for the Ulster poets was at an end. The political background to the Contention include the facts that Red Hugh ravaged Thomond during the Nine Years' War, and the Earl of Thomond had become a Protestant and fought on the side of the English at Kinsale. For this paper, however, the poetry that concerns Aodh Óg Dubh provides further insight on the man.

Aod Óg Dubh's poem, *Measa Do Thagrais A Taidg* [19] which has seventy six stanzas, was addressed to Tadhg Mac Daire in reply to the poem, *Olc do thagrais a Thorna*. Aodh Óg Dubh accused Tadhg of keeping his poem to himself for sixteen years. This referred to the interval between the Battle of Kinsale and Hugh O'Neill's death in Rome when the hopes of a Gaelic resurgence from that quarter were dashed.

Worse have you argued, O Tadhg, - even if you have sought
arguments in every direction – than the truthful poet Torna,
teacher of Niall and of Corc of Caiseal. v.1

Woe to you, and on you may the woe fall,
for renewing strife between your Mogh's Half
and this half of Conn Céad-chathach! v.2

What the race of Mil of Magh Ros possess in Erin today is not
of such worth that they should be set against each other for it.
It was your duty rather to reconcile them. v. 3

For sixteen years your poem was kept in your head.
Fear of blameless Conn's race prevented you
from telling anyone of its existence! v. 5

Til the race of Iughoine and splendid Tuathal
were driven east oversea, and one after the other died there,you mentioned not
your poem to anyone! v. 6

AODH ÓG DUBH OF RAMELTON, THE SENIOR OF THE RACE OF DÁLACH, 1537 – 1618.

Everyone thought you would be wise and fair about great Mil's
race until you composed your perverse history.
'Everyone is a writer until he writes!' v. [15]

Throughout the poem Aodh Óg Dubh used his knowledge of history to refute Tadhg.

Not all Banba's poets nor all the dead
and all the living however great their lore
could refute the books of Éire. v.8

I imagined you had read the 'Invasions'
the truthful 'Dinnseanchus', the history books
of Art's Isle, the 'Courts', the'Destructions', the 'Wooings',
The Book of Armagh so valuable, what Brogan wrote in the
North and South. Woe to you for not having read in time the
writings of Colum and Comhghall! v. 9

You should have abided as the North does
by the judgement of the Psalter of Caiseal
between the parties of Eibhear's and Eireamhon's race. v.12

In the poem, Aodh Óg Dubh referred to his own life as a soldier.

With all deference to your poesy I too
will cast my dart at you. If it fall vainly to the earth
that will surprise me. I overthrow a hero in every fight. v.18

A pity tis not with the spear with which I am used – though I
am now at the end of my days - that our combat is to be
fought with the pick of your men of Mumha from the Maigh!
v.19

His head would soon be in my hands before anyone could
separate us, and his heart's blood on my steel-blue spear!
'Let each one follow his natural bent'. v. 20

There is finality in the way the poem summarised the history of the Gaels in Ireland.

Over three thousand years are counted in the
worthy records from the coming of Mile's sons
from the East when they acquired yewy Éire. v.70

Before the beginning of Solomon's Temple–I state to you a
plain tale- Mile's race came over the sea
in the third age of the world. v.71

Power over Banba was held from that time

by brave Mile's race which shared it with no prince,
till the time of Brian Boroimhe. v. 72
In the year of just Christ sixteen hundred and seven Conn's
race was driven overseas and their country taken from them.
v. 74

Tadhg Mac Daire gave a prompt and equally sharp reply to Aodh Óg Dubh.20

O Aodh Óg of the slender steeds,
you must not – I pity you – use exaggerations
for you do not impress Clann Tail! no 19, v.1

I fear not your shot, O Aodh!
Though the host of good warriors feared your arms till now.
Not your proper arms have you now taken up. no. 17, v.1

This new arm (poetry) O son of Ó'Domnaill,
which you would wish your hand to learn,
is of little danger to anyone. You cannot hold it straight. No. 17, v.2

In return for the harsh words in your poem,
in God's name, to refute your verses,
I will send other shots back to deal with your attack. no. 17, v. 10

Verse by verse, Tadhg refutes each point made by Aodh Óg Dubh. In some of the manuscripts the poems of each are joined as a running dialogue.

I have indeed read those books – more than suits you!
A proof of my reading is that I sift wheat from tares.' No. 18,v.18

To settle history by the sword is not good sense
for a man with a tongue! It looks probable from
this that you no longer trust your arguments. No. 18, v. 30

If you think my words severe, the blame of it be on yourself!
Let all who read the poems of us both
judge of the case made by each of us. No. 19 v.8

Aodh Óg Dubh died in 1618 and an elegy was written for him by Ferghal Óg Mac An Bhaird who may have been living in exile in Scotland. [21] In this poem the poet laments his death and the fact that Aodh Óg Dubh was never made Chieftain of the O'Donnells.

The death of Aodh, uncrowned,
scattered throughout all Europe,
from sloping Teamhair filled with wounding spears,
the doughty princes of Ath Liag. v. 5
His cold hut on stormy night
his restless sleep on steeds back

his suffering in the wood of slender lances
deserved benefit from the Grecian Gaoidhil

'Many are the sad lamentations
of dumb elements for Aodh's death,
greater is the grief of scald crows and ravens
lamenting his sharp red weapons. v.23

Now that his fierce hand has gone
the recollection of it afflicts all the Ulaidh.
The 'child's weakness' has come on them
through the death of the hero of Tal's Hill. v.43

Many deeds gentle and furious
generosity, fierceness, soft love,
the elements are bitterly lamenting these things!
Thou protecting shield of the Plain of Mal. v. 49

Thou son of Máire, thou enricher of poets
the grave wherein thou liest. O bright garland,
is the ruin of Felim's race,
is the utter destruction of Éire. v.

It is noteworthy that at the time when Gaelic society was finally overcome, the elegy to Aodh Óg Dubh expressed the ancient belief that the Chieftain, in his position as king of his territory, was connected to nature itself and was expected to bring about order and harmony in both nature and society.

The fruits of the earth now colourless,
and not men alone – sad grief! –
are in desolation for thy loss;
the branches' fruits are blackened by thy death v.44

With mournful sounds the rough wind
makes up for the voices of the sea
which the ice has stilled;
the rivers in pangs are overflowing for thee,
but there is a corresponding bareness on the woods. v.45

Empty stalks and barren wood
grow high without their due burden;
there is a corresponding lowliness on the corn,
shedding its seeds in grief for thee. v.46

The amount of excessive rain over the land
which is pouring from the depths of the sky,

that amount of cow's milk is lacking.
It is all a scene of horror. v.48

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A FLIGHT OF THE EARLS' 'PILGRIMAGE' TO ROME

Dr. John McCavitt

Having spent many years researching the Flight of the Earls it was with particular pleasure that I finally realised a long-standing ambition: to visit the graves of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell in the church of San Pietro de Montorio on the Janiculum Hill in Rome. Travelling with my wife, Siobhann, we made our Flight of the Earls 'pilgrimage' on the St.Patrick's Day weekend in 2006. It was an occasion we shall never forget and I'm sure it will be a journey retraced by many during the Flight of the Earls commemorations in 2007 and 2008.

Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, did not depart Ireland for Rome. Rather when they left Rathmullan with a retinue of family and followers they set sail for Spain. Autumn equinoctial gales prevented them reaching their intended destination. Throughout prolonged periods of the voyage the French barque in which they travelled was so buffeted by storm-tossed waves that sea sickness was rife. The noxious conditions on the cramped vessel may well have been exacerbated by the fact that the ship had been fitted out with fishing tackle in Britanny as a ruse to conceal its true purpose.[1] Conditions on board must have been appalling, therefore, not least for the infant children who included the earl of Tyrconnell's son and nephew who were barely one and two years old respectively.[2] Estimated to weigh only 80 tons, the ship carried ninety nine passengers and crew.[3] Running out of supplies, particularly 'drink', they were down to their last 'five gallons of beer and less than one barrel of water' by the time they made landfall in France.[4] In the teeth of unrelenting gales, the fateful decision was taken to abandon the intention of reaching Spain and run with the wind towards the French coast



Quilleboeuf Harbour, France

along the English channel. The gales persisted, however, and a 'party of the gentlemen who were above the hatch were almost in danger of being carried out into the middle of the sea by the strength of the wind and the number of the waves'.[5] Finally, the ship made it safely to harbour at Quilleboeuf at the mouth of the River Seine in France.

The earls intended to complete their journey by land to Spain with a view to securing military aid for a prompt return to their homeland. They were prevented from travelling to the Spanish court by the French authorities. Instead, they were permitted to join their compatriots in the Spanish Netherlands, to the fury of the English who had sought their extradition. It was with the ultimate intention of reaching Spain via an Italian port that the intrepid band of Irish émigrés set off on an epic journey to Italy in February 1608.[6] I reflected on that journey as I attended St.Patrick's Day mass in St.Isidore's in Rome, the home of the Irish Franciscans in the city since the early seventeenth century. It was on the feast of the patron saint of Ireland in 1608 that disaster struck the earls' party as they traversed the treacherous 'Devil's Bridge', high in the Italian Alps. 'One of O'Neill's horses, which was carrying some of his money, about one hundred and twenty pounds, fell down the face of the high, frozen, snowy cliff which was in front of the bridge'.[7]The money, not surprisingly, was never recovered.

On that day in St.Isidore's, as it turned out, I was not the only one thinking about the Flight of the Earls. The Franciscans themselves announced their intention to commemorate the Flight of the Earls to the congregation, a gathering that included the Irish ambassador to the Quirinale, His Excellency, Frank Cogan. In conversation afterwards with Ambassador Cogan he informed me that he had also been engaged in planning Flight of the Earls commemorative events. I have since learned that preliminary plans are afoot to have President McAleese take part in a series of Flight of the Earls events in Rome in October 2007. The laying of a commemorative stone in the grounds of the church of San Pietro de Montorio is also being considered.

While the Irish state is currently preparing a 'national' commemoration of the quartercentenary of the Flight of the Earls, at the time the Spanish authorities were determined to frustrate the intentions of the earls to travel to Madrid. Fearing renewed conflict with England, the Spanish ensured that they were sidetracked to Rome instead.[8] Unaware of the Spanish machinations, the earls and their followers treated their journey to the Eternal city as a once in a life-time pilgrimage opportunity. Repeatedly, Tadhg Ó Cianáin referred to them on a 'pilgrimage…as if on a pilgrimage'.[9]Afforded special permission by Pope Paul V to have 'exhibited to them all the relics of each church to which they would go', the illustrious band of Irish exiles embarked on 'a meritorious pilgrimage to the seven chief churches in Rome' in May 1608, soon after their arrival.[10] The hectic schedule of the pilgrims was no doubt influenced by their perception that a summons to Madrid was imminent. But the invitation never came. It is all the more poignant, therefore, that the punishing schedule of pilgrimages undertaken by the earls and their retinue in the rapidly rising heat of Rome may well have contributed to the sudden bout of illness that quickly claimed the lives of Rory O'Donnell, earl of Tyrconnell and his brother Cathbharr, Hugh, Baron of Dungannon and Cúchonnacht Maguire. Tadhg Ó Cianáin caught the mood of the despondent and rapidly dwindling retinue of Irish exiles when he reflected on the catalogue of tragedies that engulfed them: 'It may well be believed that it was not through good fortune or the best of fate that it happened to Ireland that so many of the choicest of the descendants of Míl Easpáinne died suddenly, one after another, in a foreign and strange land, far removed from their own native soil'.[11]

In quick succession funeral processions wound their way up Via Garibaldi to the church of San Pietro de Montorio. July 1608 witnessed the burial of the earl of Tyrconnell. 'A large and splendid funeral in grand procession was ordered by his Holiness the Pope, and on either side of the body there were large numbers of lighted waxen torches and sweet, sad, sorrowful singing. It was enwrapped in the habit of Saint Francis, as he himself had ordered that it should be put about him'.[12] Marooned in Rome for years thereafter waiting for a call to arms that never came from his Spanish allies, Seán O'Fáolain speculated that in the 'afternoons he [O'Neill] must, surely, at intervals toil up the steep path to the Janiculum hill and the Spanish endowed church of San Pietro from whose terrace the whisper of the fountains mingle with the faint hum of Rome spread beneath. It is one of the most magnificent views in the world: a web of chimneys, domes, truncated columns and broken arches, and on clear days even his fading eyesight might trace the smoked blur of the Tiber receding to its enveloping haze of sea. In the cool dimness of the church he would sit and pray for his son Hugh and his kin'.[13]If O'Fáolain indulged his imaginative spirit to conjure up this scene with O'Neill, Owen Roe Mac an Bhaird, the bardic poet of the O'Donnells, immortalised the grief of Lady Nuala O'Donnell whom he witnessed weeping over the graves of her brothers, Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell and Cathbharr O'Donnell. In a poem entitled 'O woman of the piercing wail', translated by James Clarence Mangan, the bard opines of Lady Nuala:

And who can marvel o'er thy grief,
Or who can blame thy flowing tears,
Who knows their source?
O'Donnell, Dunnasava's chief,
Cut off amid his vernal years,
Lies here a corse
Beside his brother Cathbhar, whom
Tyrconnell of the Helmets mourns
In deep despair:
For valour, truth, and comely bloom,
For all that greatens and adorns, a peerless pair.[14]

The aspiration of the earls and their followers to return to their homeland was etched on the very gravestones in San Pietro de Montorio. Thus the inscription on the grave of the Baron of Dungannon regrets the fact that

HIS UNTIMELY DEATH SHATTERED THE HOPES OF MANY THAT BECAUSE OF HIS MANY CORPORAL AND SPIRITUAL ATTRIBUTES, THAT HE WOULD ONE DAY RESTORE THE CATHOLIC FAITH IN ITS FULL SPLENDOUR IN THAT COUNTRY[15]

As fate would have it neither the earls nor their children ever made it back to Ireland. And thus the 'pilgrim' who wishes to visit their graves must come to the church of San Pietro de Montorio on the Janiculum Hill. Visiting the tombs can be fraught with difficulty, however. I had heard that the tombstones are often covered by carpet and that people have been disappointed at not being able to see them. Part of the reason is that the church is reputed to be the most popular in Rome for weddings. That being the case

my wife and I made our way up Via Garibaldi to the church of San Pietro de Montorio on Saturday 18th of March 2006, feeling certain that at least the church would be open. And we grasped our opportunity to see the graves shortly after the wedding party made its way down the aisle and just as the church was closing. Fortunately, for us, on this occasion, one of the Spanish Franciscans noticed our interest in the grave of Hugh O'Neill which lies outside the carpet. He obliged us by helping to lift the carpet covering the other tombstones. It was to be a sight that truly moved us, as it has done so many others. And it was important to pay our respects in traditional Irish fashion. Remembrance of the dead, an ancient Irish tradition, was memorably commented upon by the English 'travel' writer of the early seventeenth century, Fynes Moryson: 'The wenen espetially and Children doe weekely visite the graves of theire dead frendes, casting flowers and Crosses upon them, with weeping and many prayers for the dead'.[16] The commemoration of the Flight of the Earls offers an opportunity for the Irish 'nation' not only to pause for reflection on this momentous event but to reaffirm a commitment to foster and cultivate 'Irish' values and customs in the face of the more baneful aspects of 'globalisation'.

1 Tadhg Ó Cianáin, *The Flight of the Earls*, ed. Paul Walsh (Dublin, 1916), p.14; John McCavitt, *The Flight of the Earls,* (Dublin, 2002) p.93.

2 Jerrold Casway, 'Mary Stuart O'Donnell' in *Donegal Annual* (1987), p.33; Jerrold Casway, 'Heroines or victims? The women of the Flight of the Earls', *New Hibernia Review,* vii, no.1 (2003), p.67.

3 Ó Cianáin, Flight, p.17: McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls, p.93*

4 Ó Cianáin, *Flight, p.17*

5 Ibid, pp 13-15.

6 McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls*, Chapter 5.

7 Ó Cianáin, *Flight,* pp 87-89.

8 McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls*, Chapter 5.

9 Ó Cianáin, *Flight*, pp 167-9.

10 Ibid, pp 175, 191-3.

11 Ibid, p.243.

12 Ibid, p.241.

13 Seán O'Fáolain, *The Great O'Neill*, (London, 1942), p.275.

14 http://www.theflightoftheearls.net/music_poetry.html

15 http://www.theflightoftheearls.net/tombstones.html

16 Graham Kew (ed.,) 'The Irish Sections of Fynes Moryson's Unpublished Itinerary', *Anal. Hib.*,xxxvii, (1998), p.110.

Dr. John McCavitt is the author of *Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland 1605-16* (1998) and *The Flight of the Earls* (2002). He contributed an article to *Donegal Annual* No. 57 entitled "Doon Rock and the Flight of the Earls". He lives in Co Down.

Photos/Images – Author ; Charles Breslin, Bunbeg for picture of Quilleboeuf



< Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, founder of the Franciscan convent at Louvain. He warned Hugh O'Neill that his life was in danger in 1607

St. Isodore' Church Rome



San Pietro, Montorio, Rome



SHADOWS OF GREATNESS

G. ARTHUR LEMON

A Pageant Depicting the Flight of the Earls
14 September 1607
Presented by
Donegal Historical Society at Rathmullan, Co. Donegal,
26 June 1982

Following the defeat at Kinsale, O'Neill and O'Donnell suffered constant harassment from the English. There were some defections among their own supporters and within a short period, their position became almost untenable. O' Neill, when he made submission to Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, was at the time unaware of the Queen's death. However, the pressure on O' Neill did not diminish and finally, with his family he fled from Rathmullan on 14 September 1607.
(Music…O' Donnell Abú fades into the distance; nothing is heard but the beat of the drums.)

TEIG: Those drums, those drums, if I were younger I would be following the drums.
DONAL: And if I were not injured I would be there too, oh I miss the fighting. I was at the Ford – cut and thrust, cut and thrust (waves stick). I must have killed twenty of the Sassanach on that day. There were five of them around me at one time – I drove in and laid them low everyone *(Action not of an injured man)*.
TEIG: If you are as good a man with your sword as you are with your stick – and mouth, it's a wonder you didn't finish the battle on your own.
DONAL: Is it mocking me you are? I'm O'Neill's man. I'd follow him to the end of the earth.
TEIG: He's only going to Kinsale.
DONAL : Good luck boys – Aye, do you hear the drums? *(Drums fade)*

CHORUS: 1ST STANZA. MARCH TO KINSALE
O'er many a river bridged with ice,
Through many a vale with snowdrifts dumb,
Past quaking fen and precipice
The princes of the North are come;
Lo' these are they that year by year
Rolled back the tide of England's war:
Rejoice, Kinsale thy help is near
The wondrous winter march is o'er
And thus they sang "tomorrow morn
Our eyes shall rest upon the foe;"
Roll on, swift night, in silence borne
And blow, thou breeze of sunrise blow. (by Aubrey de Vere)

(Battle represented by the playing of O'Donnell Abú. Set over against Lilliburlero with Lilliburlero goings the dominance: interspersed with cannon fire, musket fire, and cries of war. (Standards of war at back.)

NARRATOR : ***On this one battle lay the fortunes of the Gael,***
On this one march old Ireland's fate was sealed,
and where the blame; some say the Don was loathe
to sally forth; O'Donnell lost his way and
darkness o'er the field that aweful night
gave victory to Mountjoy. In one brief hour
six years of gain were vainly cast aside
as chaff on wind. The hope that caused the breast
to swell was gone. O'Neill in sadness turned
his face away and led his broken forces home.
Red Hugh to Spanish soil had gone for aid
Vengeance in his heart, but fearing to return
To face false friends and fight relentless foes.
(Enter O'Neill and stragglers with pipers playing lament)

O'NEILL : My friends, you faithful few who gather near
And still respect my ancient name, the loss
And pain weigh heavy on my heart this day,
There will be time, there will be time for hurts
To heal and comfort come from Spain. (a muffled cheer)
The enemy will not rest to bait the aged lion,
I will not yield or bow to Saxon might,
Bend not the knee, nor fear to face the foe
Our lives are forfeit if we give place to woe.

SINGER: *("Oh My Dark Rosaleen" - Red Hugh O' Donnell's address to Ireland)*
O my dark Rosaleen,
Do not sigh, do not weep!
The priests are on the ocean green
They march along the deep.
There's wine from the Royal Pope
Upon the ocean green
And Spanish ale shall give you hope
My Dark Rosaleen,
My Dark Rosaleen
Shall glad your heart, shall give you hope
Shall give you health and help and hope
My Dark Rosaleen
Woe and pain, pain and woe
Are my lot night and noon
To see your bright face clouded so
Like the mournful moon

But yet – will I rear your throne
Again a golden sheen
'Tis you shall reign, shall reign alone
My Dark Rosaleen
My Own Rosaleen
'Tis you shall have the golden throne
'Tis you shall reign, and reign alone
My Dark Rosaleen. (by J.C. Mangan)
(Enter a messenger in some haste, the tableaux disturbed, O'Neill turns to meet him.)

MESSENGER: My Lord, by a traitor's hand this day
Our cause has been traduced; O'Cahan's
Allegiance to our flag has gone and treachery
Has sullied brave Ulster's noble name:
Here is the fearful letter sent to the English Lords. (Reads from letter)
O'NEILL : The commendations of O'Cahan to the governor of Carrickfergus
I do trust my business, by body and my counsel unto you
Because I heard it is not hurtful to me to trust you. (Pause)
I will do no hurt to any of the Queen's forces or her garrisons
I could not choose 'till now to act in any other way.
Since I was between O'Neill, O'Donnell and the Scots.
O'NEILL: Must we forever live in fantasy
weaving dreams where each man's hand in trust
is placed in each: we are a cruel race.
We turn the weasel's tooth upon our own.
This is the man who betrayed his Lord,
This is the man who betrayed his race,
This is the man in whom I placed my trust.
MESSENGER: My Lord, his followers have deserted him
And will not tread the traitor's path.
O'NEILL: Cold comfort, for when we turn upon our own.
Who knows what heads may fall.
SECOND MESSENGER:I have that news which breaks my heart to tell.
More grief is laid upon us; Red Hugh
Is dead, when Saxon arms could not prevail,
A poison, so they say, did cause his death,
But I believe, a broken heart and hopes
Deferred did vanquish now that valiant man.
O'NEILL: This the blackest hour, friends gone, friends false,
Must I stand alone; O! I could shed tears
and weep for one who was most dear to me,
but now the dark night which we all fear
has come upon us and I, my faithful friends,
must seek in peace what I have lost in war.(Exeunt……enter Donal and Teig)



Scene from the pageant presented in1982 at Rathmullan, based on the Flight of the Earls

DONAL: Mellifont – I ask you – what good is he going to do
At Mellifront – Mountjoy will eat him, as if going to Kinsale in the middle of winter wasn't bad enough.
He now thinks he can be reconciled with the English.
Any fool could tell him it's a trick.
TEIG: Then you'll not be speaking 'til him.
DONAL: Is it mockin' me you are? I tell you, O'Neill's
an arrogant man and he's finished now. O'Neill
must go and I tell you I won't be the only man-
or the last to say this, yes, "O'Neill must go".
TEIG : Is it Joseph's coat you're wearing, for you
have so many colours. It would be hard for
a body to tell what side you'd join next.
DONAL: Which side I'd join, I'll support the party in power. In this world
it's who you know that's important. Never – never lead a side
into battle – you are in danger of being shot in the back. Never,
never join the gallant losers. The race is not to the slow, join the
winning side quickly. There are only two types of people, the
quick and the dead. I aim to be one of the quick. You'll soon
mind what I say – Mellifont – Mellifont.



Scene from 1982 pageant

Mellifont *(Enter Mountjoy and two English Lords)*

MOUNTJOY : Know this, this night have I received sad news.
Our Queen is dead. No word of this must reach
the rebel's ear for he might not submit
in hope that James, that Stuart's son,
might give him better terms. Prepare we now
and treat this noble Earl, for so he is
with courtesy; a guard upon our lips. (Enter O'Neill)
In the Queen's name, bid you welcome.
God bless the Queen.
O'NEILL : Long live the Queen! *(He kneels, unaware of the looks between Mountjoy and lords)*
MOUNTJOY : Do you submit and pledge our noble Queen that never again, by war and force of arms
you shall usurp her rights, or undermine
that peace which she devoutly doth desire?
O'NEILL (kneeling) : I, O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, submit
and beg the gracious pardon of the Queen.
In penitence, I ask but for her mercy.

I was induced by fear to stand my guard.
Ambition, nor for private gain I fought.
Upon my knees in deep humility
I ask that former honours be restored
and I, in loyalty, will serve her will.
I renounce the title of O'Neill,
I abjure all aid from foreign power,
Renounce dependence on the King of Spain,
and promise service to my gracious Queen.
MOUNTJOY : Rise, Tyrone, most virtuous is your plea
In the Queen's name, your pardon now I grant,
Restoring all those lands you did once hold;
Henry, your son, must soon return from Spain
and all the secrets of that Court reveal.
Some forts and garrisons we will entail
as earnests of that loyalty to us.
My hand, Tyrone – let us embrace as friends. *(Exit Mountjoy, Tyrone and attendants)*



Scene from 1982 pageant

NARRATOR : ***Submission to the Queen; the Queen was dead***
Tyrone, astounded now by this new turn,
regretting that he did repent in haste,
not waiting for fair terms from the new King,
He wept, the tears of silent rage were shed
not for the Queen, but for a chance – now lost. (Enter Donal and Teig)
TEIG : So, you were right, O'Neill – I forgot – Tyrone was taken in at Mellifont. Who knows whether he would have got better terms from James!
DONAL: But he went to London – didn't he – what happened there – more vague promises? Has it made any difference? The new Lord Deputy Chichester is making life hard in Ulster.
TEIG : Aided and abetted by Sir John Davies – you know (slowly and deliberately) with their help a man could gain some power and influence.
DONAL : So, you've come round to my way of thinking. It's time we looked after ourselves. Pluck the right strings and you get ahead. The Irish Harp – what a symbol for our land. It represents all those who get to power by plucking strings. Now let's play the right tune for Chichester and Davies. They are looking for – helpers. Now I know a few things about Tyrone they might find very interesting.
TEIG : You mean to turn informer? That's going too far, O'Neill – Tyrone is a great man.
DONAL : The Great O'Neill *(ironic)* in future years maybe when scores of people will come claiming him as their great – great – ancestor, the Great O'Neill. If they were here today they'd act just as we act. Honesty is to be admired but expediency gets results.

CHORUS:
Tyrone now has need of friends,
Ulster has need of peace
We have seen them, the scavengers in the market place
selling their souls for Church, deprived of its rights,
its priests hunted and harried.
The land is torn from us by
corruption in the courts
and plots by powerful men.
We have seen them, greedy churchmen, angry clansmen
fattening themselves on Tyrone's loss
Where is fealty now, where are those
who would stand with the Earl ?
Protect him from his foes,
Protect him from his friends?
Gone is the pride, gone is the spirit
that sustained you, revived you
and gave you hope.
Did you prevent, the suborning his wife
betraying his trust, breaking the bond of sanctity
in the house, by the hearth, in the home ?
You promised him power,
Lord President of Ulster,
Sweet and sickly were the words of praise
as you connived his downfall.
Leave us Tyrone
Leave Ulster to her misery
Do not stay with dishonour
Do not suffer the taunts
of tormentors, oppressors
who smile with their lips
and clutch with their claws
at your lands, your life and your living.



Scene from 1982 pageant

NARRATOR : Accused, reviled condemned.Tyrconnell now resolves to flee.

TYRCONNELL : They seek my lands and drive my herds away
No peace have I. Informers by the score
lay charges at my door. My title they
usurp and fail to charge Sir Nial
who brought the name O'Donnell to disgrace.
Upon the gallows step, poor wretches did
confess my sedition to save dishonoured lives.
At Boyle, they tried to burn the house wherein
I lodged, accusing me of treason
unpunished – yes – and praised are those who sought
my life. The deputy hears not my pleas
one course alone lies open. We must flee
this land which serves us now so ill
Tyrconnell and Tyrone – give place to woe.
TYRONE: I too have heard the voices, calling, urging me to go,
praying me to stay.
But I, who have known the pleasure of power,
of being my own man, have now no choice.
I was a servant of the King,
I can no longer serve.

NARRATOR : ***Sing the old song now, songs of his past***
of days in English courts, of nights of grace and splendour
of Dungannon, of Sweet Bann and Foyle.
(Dance – Greensleeves – Madrigals – singers - Irish lament, cheerful Irish song in Irish)
The last sad act is played beside Rathmullan.
Maguire, who with John Bath did sail the ship
From France, now greets these much abused Earls
and bids them flee from these unfriendly shores. (Maguire greets Earls at Rathmullan)

MAGUIRE : Welcome Earls both, for news of this departure
spread apace. Our enemies for the moment
are confused – not knowing our intentions.
The Captain fears to stay, he dreads this unsafe
shore: McSweeney did forbid him moor
beside his fort. By Portmurry point
the ship, in danger from the wind and waves,
is now exposed. We must embark at once. *(Shout from the wall)*
JOHN BATH : Traitors! Slaves! let my sailors pass. Maguire, Maguire.
MAGUIRE : John Bath, your cries bespeak some more bad news.
JOHN BATH : Come quickly. McSweeney's men have set
upon the crews who would provide our stores.
TYRONE : Face to face we meet our foes, behind our backs;
who will protect us from our friends?
JOHN BATH : Make haste, my Lord, the wind is in the sails,
this is a hostile shore. I dare not wait.

The English yet may come and with these rogues
prevent our passage to the open sea.
TYRONE : I cannot leave without my son
his foster father swore he would be here
and we will wait 'till night upon his coming

CHORUS:
The darkness falls on Fanad; our fears increase
The Great O'Neill must go, and we must weep
for Ulster, for our native land.
Tyrone is leaving us
Hope is leaving us
We fear for his safety
We fear for his life, his liberty and his lands
We fear for ourselves, unprotected, defenceless and poor.
The light is fading from the sky,
The light is fading from our lands
O black the day, evil the day,
Angry the sea, the wind and the waves,
The warriors of the North must flee.

JOHN BATH : Your son has not yet come; we must away
Board now – my ladies and my lords.
TYRONE : I would that he had come, but break my heart
I must now turn from kith and kin
and face the stormy sea. No more I'll hear
my countrymen rejoice or hear the bugle
sound at morn and see the flag unfurl
On my ancestral home. I see you weep,
weep not for me. Your tears should be for Ulster
your homes, your families and your friends.
Your grief has touched my heart, my grief to see
your faces turned to me, pale in their misery.
White faces of Ireland, I'll see you still
from foreign fields across the gloomy sea.
I'll hear your cries, and so with faltering steps
I'll leave this land (He kneels to kiss the earth)
Lips, take a lingering kiss
Eyes look your last upon this fateful shore,
On Irish soil my eyes will gaze – no more
(O' Neill, overcome with emotion turns and a lone piper leads him to the shore through lines of women. Background music)

NARRATOR : ***Oppressed by tormentors, Chichester and Davies,***
surrounded by traitors – greedy for his land,
O'Neill, stern, upright, turned his back
on Ulster, turned his back on the dreams
he had for Ireland and sought refuge
in the warm hills of Rome

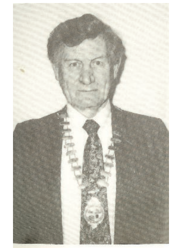
where the yellow Tiber's waters flow
within the seven hilled city's bound.
An aged chief, with footsteps slow
moves sadly o'er the storied ground
or from his palace windows' panes
looks out upon the matchless dome
the ruins grand, the glorious fanes
that stud the soil of Holy Rome.
But oh, for Ireland far away
For Ireland in the western sea
The Chieftain's heart is there today
And there in truth, he fain would be. (T.D. Sullivan)

CAST

Narrator ………………… …	G. Arthur Lemon
Donal …………	Michael McMullin
Teig ………………………….	Conal Gallen
Piper ………………………....	Christy Murray
O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone ……..	Paddy O'Connor
1st Messenger ……………….	Raymond Porter
2nd Messenger ……………	Gerald Bell
Mountjoy ……………………	Derek Hartle
English Lord ………………..	John Neill
O'Donnell ………………….	Robert Hanna
Maguire ……………………..	Conor Porter
Captain John Bath …………	John Merrick

Singers Loreto College, Milford - Maeve Cullen, Catherine Connoll, Katrina Shields, Deirdre McCormick, Mary McLaughlin, Marjorie McQuarrie, Mary Shields , Carmel Gallen, Mary Connolly, Kay McAteer, Michelle Kelly, Sheila Deeney, Lorraine McLaughlin, Siobhan Shiels, Anne Connolly, Joanne Cullen, Anne Marie McElwee
Verse Speakers – Royal and Prior School, Raphoe – Sylvia Baskin, Marie Dolan, Mereid Griffin, Sonya Lemon, Kay Mc Cleane, Sandra Proctor, Dorothy Quigley, Caroline Vance, Lorna Wilson, Louise Woods.
Producer – G. Arthur Lemon - copyright, Donegal Historical Society, 1982

ORGANISING COMMITTEE – Chairman Dorothy Borland, E.W.R. Cookman, G. Arthur Lemon, Sr. Frances O'Donnell, Rev. J. McBrearty, Seán O'Callaghan, John Borland.
Arthur Lemon was President of Donegal Historical Society. The play was first published in the O'Neill Commemorative Journal of the First International Gathering of the Clan held on 20-27 June 1982. During the commemoration, Jorge O'Neill, Prince and Count of Clanaboy, a Portugese nobleman, was inaugurated as Chieftain at Shane's Castle, Co Antrim on 23 June 1982. The ceremony was described in the Journal as the first to take place in the family for 434 years.
Photos – Vincent O'Donnell.



G. Arthur Lemon, author, narrator and producer of pageant and former President of DHS.

HELEN ALLINGHAM, THE ARTIST, AND HER BALLYSHANNON CONNECTIONS

Anthony Begley

Adieu to Ballyshanny! Where I was bred and born;
Go where I may, I'll think of you as sure as night and morn.
The kindly spot, the friendly town, where every one is known,
And not a face in all the place but partly seems my own;
There's not a house or window, there's not a field or hill,
But, east or west, in foreign lands, I'll recollect them still.
I leave my warm heart with you, though my back I'm forced turn-
So adieu to Ballyshanny and the winding banks of Erne!


Self Portrait - 1885

William Allingham (1824-1889), the poet, was born on the Mall in Ballyshannon and many older readers will be familiar with the verse quoted above, which they may recall from their schooldays. The lines are from his poem, *The Winding Banks of Erne*, also called *The Emigrant's Adieu to Ballyshanny,* which, like much of his early poetry, deals with the river, the people, the legends, the folklore and the countryside around Ballyshannon. The Allinghams had been in Ballyshannon since Elizabethan times and the poet's father, also called William, was a merchant who owned ships at the Mall Quay and engaged in export and import of goods to the Baltic and Canada. His father was also the first manager of the Provincial Bank in 1835 and William (junior) was later to be a bank clerk in the same bank. The young Allingham, influenced by his Aunt Maryanne, was interested in literature and writing poetry but felt isolated from literary circles and, in holiday periods, travelled regularly to London to meet with fellow poets and writers. He was to become friendly and correspond with many of the writers of the age, including, Leigh Hunt, Alfred Lord Tennyson, the Brownings, Carlyle and Rossetti. In 1846 William left the bank, after serving in Ballyshannon, Armagh, Strabane and Enniskillen, to pursue a career as a customs official. His new career took him to Donegal Town, Coleraine, New Ross, Ballyshannon and he also worked in London, The Isle of Man and Lymington in Hampstead. Allingham published his first book of poetry entitled, *Poems*, in 1850 and this included, possibly, his most famous poem, *The Fairies* written while working in Killybegs. He continued to be restless in the customs and in 1870 finally decided to abandon this career and moved to London where he became sub-editor of *Fraser's Magazine* in London.

HELEN ALLINGHAM, THE ARTIST, AND HER BALLYSHANNON CONNECTIONS

In 1874, two significant events occurred in William Allingham's life; he was appointed editor of *Fraser's Magazine* and he also announced that he was to marry Helen Paterson on the 22nd August.[1]

MARRIAGE TO HELEN PATERSON

> *I am to be married! On the 22nd! The lady is Miss Helen Paterson, an artist of some reputation, two or more of her drawings were in this year's Royal Academy and she has many woodcuts for "The Cornhill" and "Graphic". She is a full score of years my junior, which is to be regretted; but as she and her mother declare that in this particular case, it is an advantage, and nobody else objects we must make the best of it. I have taken a house in this neighbourhood. I have also taken Helen to Carlyle, who is highly satisfied. She is especially pleased at the prospect of going on with her art, not only without hindrance, but with every encourag ment from her husband. We have a great many friends in common and trust under Heaven to be in every way good to each other and to keep our friend.* [2]

William wrote the above in a letter to Emily, Lady Tennyson, wife of Alfred Lord Tennyson with whom the Allingham's were very friendly. It is interesting to note that Carlyle approved of the match! William was making the late Victorian marriage; he was fifty years of age and Helen was twenty-five when they married at the Chapel at Little Portland Place, in London in August 1874.

Helen Paterson was born in Swadlincote, Derbyshire on the 26th September 1848, the first child of Henry and Mary Paterson. Her father was a doctor who died in 1862 and at that stage the family moved to Birmingham. Her mother's sister, Laura Herford, an artist, successfully challenged the Royal Academy to open its painting Schools to women. The young Helen Paterson was greatly influenced by her aunt and attended the Royal Academy schools in London in 1867. To pay for her accommodation Helen sought work from engraving firms as pictures for books or periodicals had to be drawn onto wood blocks by an artist, and then cut by an engraver. In 1870 Helen got a post as an illustrator/reporter with the weekly news magazine *Graphic*. Helen supplied the drawings for Thomas Hardy's, *Far from the Madding Crowd,* which was serialised in Cornhill magazine. Hardy said that she was the best illustrator he ever had and he offered her a commission to illustrate his work, entitled A *Laodicean,* but she declined as *"she had entirely given up book illustration"*[3]. From 1874 she abandoned black and white drawing for water-colour. Hardy was deeply attracted to Helen, prior to her marriage to William, but she did not return his affections. Thomas Hardy wrote a poem to her, entitled *The Opportunity (For HP)*, which includes the following verse suggesting a possible marriage;

> *Had we mused a little space*
> *At that critical date in the Maytime*
> *One life had been ours, one place,*
> *Perhaps, till our long cold clay time*

THE ARTIST AT WORK

In 1874 William had a salary of £400 per annum, as editor of *Fraser's Magazine* and Helen's paintings were receiving recognition. Two of her paintings, *The Milkmaid* and *Wait for Me* were accepted for the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. In 1875 Helen received the rare honour for a woman of becoming an Associate of the Royal Watercolours Society. Women were not admitted to full membership until 1890, at which time she was immediately elected as the first female member of The Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colours. During their seven years living at 12 Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, Helen exhibited over 100 watercolours mainly at The Royal Society of Painters in Watercolours in Pall Mall, London. Two of their three children were born in London. Gerald Carlyle was born on 8th November 1875 and was named after William's friend Carlyle who lived nearby. Helen worked for some time on a portrait of Carlyle who told William that: *your wife is the only person who has made a successful portrait of me, though many have tried*[4]. Eva Margaret was born in 1877 after which Helen was ill for several months.

The family moved to Sandhills near Witley in Surrey in 1881 and the following year their third child Henry William was born. William no longer worked for *Fraser's Magazine* and now was able to devote his time to writing poetry and contributing freelance articles to periodicals. Helen and William worked creatively together as she illustrated two of his works, *Rhymes for the Young Folks* and designed the stage sets for his play *Ashby Manor* which unfortunately was not accepted for production. He had been granted a Civil List pension of £60 (later increased to £100) as a result of the publication of his work in 1863 on the landlord-tenant relationship entitled *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland:*

> *The story straightforward, almost documentary, traces the course of a young landlord, Laurence Bloomfield-educated in England, tormented by indecision-rising to his responsibilities by turning his back on the attractions of absenteeism and staying home to help his tenants by fighting steadily and peaceably the evils of insecurity of tenure.*[5]

It is interesting to note that a few miles from Allingham's birthplace in Ballyshannon, a landlord family called Bloomfield, lived at Castlecaldwell, near Belleek in County Fermanagh.

The Allinghams, now living at Sandhills, near Alfred Lord Tennyson, whom William greatly admired, were frequent visitors at Tennyson's home at Aldworth. Tennyson reluctantly sat for a portrait by Helen Allingham which began with a few sittings in 1880 and Tennyson brought up the subject with Helen again in September 1887: *Didn't you begin a portrait of me once? Well you might perhaps try again sometime.*[6]The opportunity did not come till a year or two later, when Mrs. Allingham painted Tennyson's portrait in his study at Farringford.

At Sandhills Helen was busy at what was to become some of her most significant work painting, the Surrey Cottages. In a letter written in 1885 William notes the significance of this work.

> *My wife, who belongs to the old Water Colour Society, is happier here than ever before in her life, painting out of doors as much as possible. What a good lot, to feel the true pleasure in one's work and at the same time that one is providing for the pleasure of others. She is now engaged on a series of "Surrey Cottages", for exhibition by themselves next year in London, and in this, making record of many beautiful old things that are disappearing from the earth.*[7]

The author Graham Robertson, who took over the Allingham's house in Surrey after they moved back to London, described Helen at work:

> *My memories of her wit and wisdom are chiefly in the shape of detached sentences, jerked over her shoulder as she sat at the bottom of a damp ditch, knee-deep in nettles, or poised precariously on a pig-sty wall, using her open umbrella as an easel.*[8]

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM ALLINGHAM

William Allingham's last visit to Ballyshannon was for the funeral of his father in 1866. For the remaining 23 years of his life he resided in England and during his lifetime Helen never visited Ballyshannon. Nevertheless he still kept an interest in his native town and land:

> *A few words may be said here of the relations-always cordial-between Allingham and his family and old friends in Ireland. There was a regular, if not very frequent correspondence, and gifts were exchanged at the end of the year. His sister Catherine's letters from Ballyshannon were always interesting to Allingham-though sad, too, for they came to be mainly records of the deaths of those he had known there. Visitors from the old country always had a warm welcome.*[9]

In 1884 two of William Allingham's sisters, Catherine and Jane, and his brother John were still living. John was living in Waterford where he was Mayor in 1884. William Allingham's mother died in his youth and his father re-married and in 1884 Edward, Hugh and Lizzie of the second family were living. Edward was a medical doctor who published a book of poetry entitled, *New and Original Poems*[10]

The Allinghams moved to Eldon House, Hampstead, London in December 1888 so as to be near schools for the children's education. Helen's mother and her sister Caroline, who was also an artist, lived nearby. William was ill at this time and died less than a year later on 18 November 1889. His body was cremated at Woking where his epitaph was read aloud:

> *Body to purifying flame,*
> *Soul to the Great Deep whence it came,*

Leaving a song on earth below,
An urn of ashes white as snow[11]

William Allingham's ashes were brought back to his native Ballyshannon and are interred, on the hillside, beside his family members at St. Anne's Church Mullaghnashee overlooking the river Erne, the harbour and the town of Ballyshannon. In his poem *Under the Grass* William aptly describes his final resting place.

Where these green mounds o'erlook the mingling Erne
And salt Atlantic, clay that walk'd as Man
A thousand years ago, some Vik-ing stern,
May rest, or nameless Chieftain of a Clan:
And when my dusty remnant shall return
To the great passive World, and nothing can,
With eye, or lip, or finger anymore,
O lay it there too, by the river shore.

Helen was later to have her paintings published to great acclaim in conjunction with Marcus B. Huish in *Happy England* (1903), and her work was popularised in *The Cottage Homes of England* (1909), in collaboration with Stewart Dick, a book which had to be re-printed.

Her England is a sunny England, her cottages are happy homes. -----The garden is full of flowers, the sun shines with a cool and tempered light, and the whole scene breathes of peacefulness.[12]

The world her paintings captured was a peaceful and idyllic landscape, which has seen a resurgence of interest in her work in the past twenty five years, and her paintings are popular today in the books, calendars and postcards which display her beautiful cottages and their rustic settings.

Helen and William both felt strongly that the old cottages around them should be preserved from destruction or restoration. There is a curiously modern sound to Helen's complaint that all too often fine old building work , which has stood for years and was as firm as a rock, was replaced by cheap materials and careless work in the name of progress. Old leaded lattice windows were ripped out to be replaced by 'modern' square ones of unseasoned wood while further up the road another landowner was having quaint 'old-fashioned cottages' with lattice windows built on his estate.[13]

Helen Allingham's Donegal Paintings

At William's request there was no funeral service following his death and two years later, in1891, Helen brought the children to visit their father's grave at St. Anne's Church in Ballyshannon and also to meet their Irish relations. Helen was busy painting on her trip to Donegal and was later to exhibit twelve paintings from her Ballyshannon visit in 1891. She painted the following *Cabin at Ballyshannon, The Purt, Ballyshannon, Irish Cabins,*

A bit of Donegal Coast, Donegal Cabin, Cave Under Abbey Assaroe, Ballyshannon, Donegal Mountains, Cabin in the Purt, Ballyshannon, Near Abbey Assaroe, Donegal, Fairy Bridges, Bundoran, (Slieve League in the distance), *Cabins at Ballyshannon, A Way Down to the Sea, Bundoran, Co. Donegal* and *A Donegal Girl*. Two of her paintings from the Irish visit in 1891 are included with this article; a painting of the Fairy Bridges at Bundoran which still enchants visitors and also a painting of a cabin near Ballyshannon. We get a brief insight into Helen's impression, of Ballyshannon, Donegal and Ireland in the 1890's, in the descriptions which she no doubt supplied for the paintings and which also included descriptions from William Allingham's *Diary*.

A Cabin at Ballyshannon painted in 1891



Ballyshannon is the birthplace of Mr. William Allingham, who married Mrs. Allingham in 1874. It is situated in Co. Donegal, and was described by him as " an odd, out-of-the way little town on the extreme western verge of Europe: our next neighbours, sunset away, being citizens of the great Republic, which indeed to our imagination seemed little, if at all, farther off than England in the opposite direction. Before it spreads a great ocean, behind stretches many an islanded lake. On the south lies a wavy line of blue mountains, and on the north, over green, rocky hills, rise peaks of a more distant range. The trees hide in glens or cluster near the river; grey rocks and boulders lie scattered about the windy pastures". Here Mr. Allingham was born of the good old stock of one of Cromwell's settlers, and here he lived until he was two-and-twenty. The drawing now reproduced was made when Mrs. Allingham visited the place with his chil dren after his death in 1889. Many ruined cabins lie around; money is scarce in Donegal, and each year the tenants become fewer, some emigrating, others who have done so sending to their relations to join them. Better times are indeed nec essary if the country is not to become a desert.[14]

It is appropriate to note that Ballyshannon was created a borough by Royal Charter in 1613 that the Allinghams were settled in the town at that period, as a Hugh Allingham was a burgess in the town borough.[15]

The Fairy Bridges with Slieve League in the background painted in 1891



The Fairy Bridges-a series of natural arches, carved or shaken out of the cliffs, in times long past, by the rollers of the Atlantic-are within a walk of Ballyshannon and were often visited by Mrs. Allingham during her stay there. Three of them (there are five in all) are seen in the drawing, and a quaint and mythological faith connects them with Elfindom-a faith which every Irishman in the last generation imbibed with his mother's milk, and which is not yet extinct in the lovely crags and glens of Donegal. The scene is introduced into two of Mr. Allingham's best-known songs; in one, "The Fairies" thus-

"Up the airy mountain
Down the rushy glen,
We daren't go a –hunting
For fear of little men."

"Down along the rocky shore
Some make their home,
They live on crispy pancakes
Of yellow tide foam."

HELEN ALLINGHAM, THE ARTIST, AND HER BALLYSHANNON CONNECTIONS

The only land which separates the wind-swept Fairy Bridges from America is the Slieve-League headland, whose wavy outline is seen in the distance. It too finds a place in one of Mr. Allingham's songs, "The Winding Banks of Erne: the Emigrants Adieu to his Birthplace" (which in ballad form is sung by Erin's children all the world over)-

Farewell to you Kildoney lads, and them that pull an oar,
A lug-sail set, or haul a net, from the point to Mullaghmore;
From Killybegs to bold Slieve-League, that ocean mountain steep,
Six hundred yards in air aloft, six hundred in the deep,
From Doran to the Fairy Bridge, and round by Tullen Strand,
Level and long and white with waves, where gull and curlew stand,
Head out to sea, when on your lee the breakers you discern!
Adieu to all the billowy coast, and winding banks of Erne! [16]

THE DEATH OF HELEN ALLINGHAM

In his will William left between £200 and £300 and Helen had to work very hard to support herself and her three children. She lived near her old friend Kate Greenway and together they caught early trains and began to sketch in the country. Ruskin thought that Helen's true gift was to represent "the gesture, character and humour of charming children in country landscapes."[17] The First World War marked the end of Helen's popularity as an artist, for a time. The stark world created in the 1920's was at variance with the romantic world of her paintings. It was to be many years after her death that a revival of interest in her work brought a popularity which today sees her paintings change hands for large sums of money. In September 1926 Helen Allingham went to stay with friends including Graham Robertson who now lived in Sandhills, her old home. Robertson wrote that she was, *Painting away most industriously as usual. She is quite wonderful for her age (77) and skips up and down the hills like a girl.* [18]She made long walks over the heath stayed with friends and was happy to be in her beloved Surrey. Her death, two days after her seventy-eight birthday, was very much unexpected.

On 28th September after a few hours illness Helen Allingham RWS, at the home of her old friend Mrs. Daffurn, Valewood, Haslemere. Service at Woking Crematorium on Saturday at 11 o'clock. [19]

Helen is commemorated by a plaque in Rosslyn Hill Unitarian Church in Hampstead where plaques also commemorate her son Gerard, her brother Arthur Paterson and her uncle Brooke Herford who was minister of the Rosslyn Hill Chapel. Her plaque, a photograph of which accompanies this article, is located on the north wall of the Chapel, inscribed on white marble, with a border of mother-of-pearl, gilded crosses at each corner and a frame of green marble. The plaque also contains an excerpt from Browning's *Fra Lippo Lippi*.[20]

Obituary in "The Times"

We regret to record that Mrs. Helen Allingham, the water colour painter, died on Tuesday, after a few hours illness at the home of an old friend at Haslemere. She had just completed her 78th birthday. Mrs. Allingham was the daughter of Dr. A

H Paterson, and was born on September 26 1848. In 1874 when she was 26, she married William Allingham, the Irish poet, who was then 50, and with him she passed 15 years of a happy married life, till his death in 1889. They had two sons and a daughter. In her girlhood Mrs. Allingham gave signs of artistic talent, and after training at the Royal Academy school, she began to work profes sionally drawing in black and white for the "Graphic" and "Cornhill", and making by her watercolours a sufficient impression to be chosen an Associate of the R.W.S. 50 years she was a regular exhibitor, and she sent three pictures to the exhibi tion last year. She was a great favourite of those who like idyllic scenes of coun try life, carefully painted. She had affinities with the Pre-Raphaelites, some of whom were close friends of her husband, whose books they sometimes illustrat ed; but she never emulated their historic visions of the lofty imaginations of their leaders, contenting herself with exact renderings of English rural scenery, Surrey, pleasant children and the cottages round about her home near Whitley, Haslemere, Ruskin used sometimes to speak of her with exaggerated admiration, but to many quieter folk her drawings at the Society's rooms, or in separate exhibitions which she organised from time to time, gave real and legit imate pleasure. She illustrated amongst other books "The Homes of Tennyson" written by her brother Mr. H A Paterson, the novelist, and after her husband's death she edited three volumes of his correspondence and other prose writings.[21]

Obituaries in Irish Newspapers

In Ballyshannon one of the local newspapers, *The Donegal Vindicator*, reported briefly on the death using information gleaned from *The Time*s obituary with an obvious local interest in the heading.[22]

Widow of Irish Poet Dead
Mrs. Helen Allingham the watercolour painter died at Haslemere aged 78. She was the widow of the Irish poet. She was a member of the Royal Watercolours Society and was a regular exhibitor for 50 years. She was a sister of Mr. A.H. Paterson, the novelist-The Times. [19]

Strangely enough, *The Fermanagh Herald*, in Enniskillen County Fermanagh, gave a much more comprehensive obituary on her death, gleaned from the *Manchester Guardian,* once again, emphasing obvious local Irish connections in the headlines.

"Ballyshanny and the Winding Banks of Erne"
Poet's Widow Dies in England

Mrs. Helen Allingham (widow of the author of "Ballyshanny and the Winding banks of Erne") has died at a time when movements are at last springing up to preserve the cottage homes of England, whose cause her art had so delightfully pleaded throughout her working life, says the London correspondent of the " Manchester Guardian". She died suddenly on Tuesday in a house near Haslemere, in Surrey, the county in which she had found most of her subjects. She had been staying at the beginning of the week with her friend, Miss Jekyll, the famous gardener at Godalming, and was painting on Monday.
She lived at Witley for seven years, moving in 1885 to Hampstead, where she had lived since then. The home at Witley was not one of the hipped black-and-white Surrey cottages that she loved to paint, but a rather ordinary modern house where Mr. Graham Robertson now lives. But she stayed in cottages all over Surrey, and knew them inside as well as outside. Many of her pictures are reproduced by colour process in two books, "Happy England" and "The Cottage Homes of England"
She was born at Ashby-de-La Zouch. Her maiden name was Paterson and her mother was a Herford of the well known Manchester family. Her first art school was at Birmingham, and afterwards she was at the Royal Academy schools when Fred Walker was master, and his influence persisted throughout her life.
Her husband William Allingham, the Irish poet, whose journal she edited, moved in the centre of the Mid-Victorian poets, and she knew Tennyson well, and paint ed portraits of him and of Carlyle. She illustrated Thomas Hardy's "Under the Greenwood Trees" when it first appeared in the "Graphic" and she also illus trated several novels in the "Cornhill Magazine.
She was a member of the old Watercolour Society, in whose exhibitions her pictures were a feature for many years. Her art was of a modest and loving kind that made people love the subject, and in the awakening of England to the rural beauties which it is so quickly losing Mrs. Allingham's part is very great[23]

It is worth noting that Helen Allingham, illustrated Thomas Hardy's *Far from the Madding Crowd* and that the Allingham's moved to Hampstead in 1888.

PATRICK ALLINGHAM BEQUEST

None of the Allingham's 3 children followed in their parents' footsteps; Gerald Carlyle Allingham (1875-1961) who married and had one daughter was an engineer, his sister Eva born in 1877 suffered from ill health and Henry William Allingham (1882-1960) also an engineer married Nellie Lomax. Henry and Nellie, (who was the daughter of the St. John's Wood artist, John A. Lomax) and their three children went to live with Helen in Eldon House in the 1920's. Her daughter-in-law designed a charming garden, which must have pleased Helen; she had painted so many gardens. Two of the Allingham grandchildren Anthony (1913-1932), Ann (1915-1942) died young, and a third grandchild, Patrick Henry Lomax Allingham (1916-1989), bequeathed most of his family collection of Helen Allingham memorabilia to the Hampstead Museum in his will in 1989. The collection is housed at Burgh House Hampstead today.

THE INFLUENCE OF HELEN ALLINGHAM

Helen believed that her husband's work was superior to her own and she tried hard to gain for him the recognition she thought he was owed. In the years following his death, she

rearranged, edited and published all his writings in an effort to keep his name alive. This work even extended to his personal diaries and letters. These were edited in a manner which would no doubt have pleased him: all personal or unflattering information was tactfully removed and much was made of Allingham's contacts with the rich and famous[24]

- In 1890 *The Works* was published in 6 volumes containing all his poetry.
- In 1907 *A Diary* was edited by Helen Allingham and D. Radford. At this time only two of William Allingham's immediate family in Ireland survived. John in Waterford and Hugh Allingham who was manager of the Provincial Bank in Ballyshannon where William and his father had also worked. Hugh was the author of an excellent local history entitled; *Ballyshannon, its History and Antiquiti*es (1879) which contains William's poems, *Adieu to Ballyshanny*, *The Goblin Child* and *Abbey Assaroe*. In the preface to his history of Ballyshannon, Hugh acknowledges the writings of William Allingham; "*whose poems, espe cially those relating to the Town, have taken a firm root in the memories of Ballyshannon people, both at home and abroad."*[25]
- *Poems selected and arranged by Helen Allingham* was published in 1912 and *By the Way verses*, fragments and notes arranged by Helen Allingham also was published in 1912..
- In 1914 *Letters from William Allingham to Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning* was published.
- Helen also presented her own portrait of him to the National Portrait Gallery, where he still hangs among the men who were his friends-Rossetti, Carlyle, Tennyson and Browning.

Helen and William Allingham although married for only 15 years, at the time of his death, had a very supportive relationship and shared a wide circle of literary and artistic friends. The tireless and unselfish efforts of Helen Allingham kept alive the memory and the written words of her husband William, the poet from Ballyshannon.

On Sunday 17th November 1889, the day before his death William Allingham spoke the following words to his wife Helen:

And so, to where I wait, come gently on.[26]

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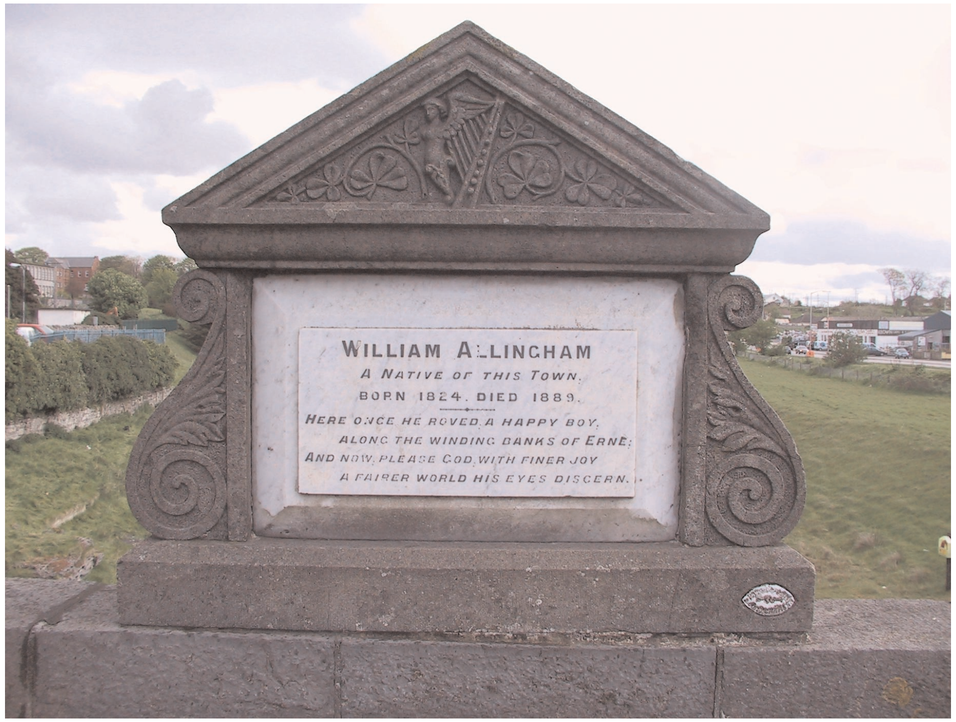
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Acknowledgements and Further Information
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Anthony Begley is a former President of Donegal Historical Society and curator of DHS Museum at Rossnowlagh. He lives in Ballyshannon and is a regular contributor to Donegal Annual. He is the author, with Billy Finn, of *A Century of Ballyshannon Vocational School* (2000).



A Plaque to William Allingham *on the bridge over the river Erne in Ballyshannon.*

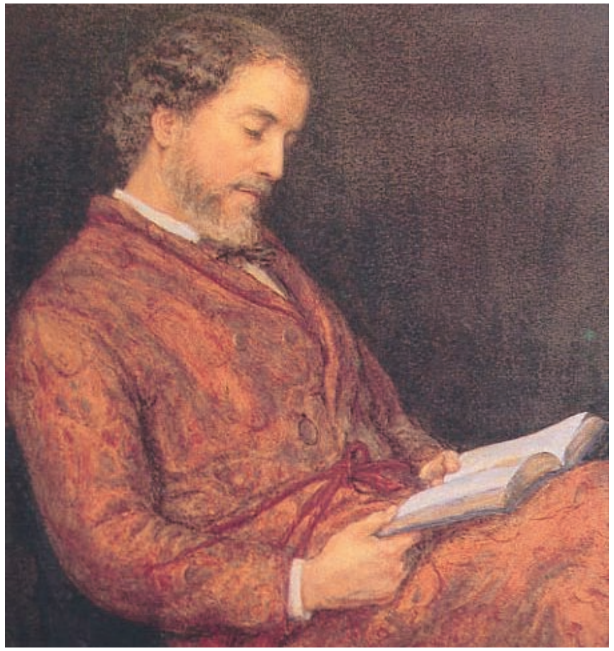


Plaque to Helen Allingham *in Rosslyn Hill Unitarian Church in Hampstead. (Photograph courtesy of Danielle Wilson Copyright).*

HELEN ALLINGHAM, THE ARTIST, AND HER BALLYSHANNON CONNECTIONS



Lessons- *Helen's painting of her children Gerard and Eva.(Painting reproduced by permission of Hampstead Museum ,Burgh House, London)*



A Portrait of William Allingham *by his wife Helen. (Painting reproduced by permission of Hampstead Museum, Burgh House, London.)*



Off Marketing*-One of Helen Allingham's many excellent cottage paintings. (Painting reproduced by permission of The Helen Allingham Society).*

IONA AND COLUM CILLE

Rosemarie Doherty

When we think of Iona we think of Colum Cille and the foundation of the first Columban monastery but what we often forget about is what existed on Iona before Colum Cille arrived, how it came about that Colum Cille was granted Iona, how the new monastery was constructed and the general changes that took place on Iona from c. 6500 BC to c.700 AD. In this essay we look at the island of Iona in terms of its geographical location, its archaeology – both historic and prehistoric and the historical sources that give us evidence of what life was like on Iona. It is difficult to piece all these areas together to form a complete picture of the island. The difficulty is posed because the historical sources frequently have conflicting accounts and because of the fact that most of the archaeological evidence for the early monastery has been destroyed by more recent building. It may be impossible to completely recreate life on the island before and during Colum Cille's time; however, we can create an image of individual parts of the history and of life in the monastery of Iona.

Iona is the largest of a number of islands which cluster around the western tip of the Ross of Mull, the peninsula that forms the south-western part of the island of Mull. Iona is approximately 5.5km in length and varies in breadth from c. 1.5km across the low lying central belt to a maximum of c. 2.5km, the total area being about 800 ha. The island lies with its long axis aligned from north-east to south-west. The island of Iona received its name from a misreading of Adomnán's Latinised adjectival form *Ioua insula*, where *Ioua* represents a primitive Irish *Iwowa*, a derivative of the word *iwos* ('yew tree', Old Irish éo) meaning Island of the yew[2] Unusually there is little, if any, pollen evidence for yews on the island. However, a possible reason for this is that the yew trees on the island were Irish, therefore female and obviously not producing pollen. This idea may be far fetched, however it might suggest that there was Irish influence on Iona before the coming of Colum Cille.Some variants have been recorded, but that used by Bede in the 8th century, Hii, is faithfully represented by the forms Y or Hy found on the late medieval tombstones found on Iona and Tiree. It is possible that people thought Iona was the proper name of the Island as it means dove which would have coincided with the name of the island's saint Colum Cille meaning Dove of the Church.

It appears that the pattern of prehistoric settlement on Iona parallels that of the larger island of Mull, with the earliest inhabitants taking advantage of the rich natural resources of the sea and the woodlands for fishing, hunting and gathering. Such Mesolithic occupation of the northern mainland of Argyll and its associated islands probably spans the period from before about 6500 BC to 3500 BC, but use of any single camp site is likely to have been brief or at best seasonal[3.] It is likely that camp sites like this were used during hunting or seal hunting expeditions and were part of a wider economic framework involving settlements in other areas at other times of the year. There is also evidence to

suggest continuity of settlement on the island as the presence of later farming communities was suggested by the discovery of a stone axe and pollen analysis of material from Lochan Mór has provided clear evidence of the activity of such early farmers[4]. In general terms a date of about 3500 BC may be suggested for the beginning of this activity[5]. There is also evidence for Neolithic settlement on Iona although Neolithic settlement in these areas was sparse. One burial cairn, probably dating to the second millennium BC known as Cairn Blár Buidhe, is the only monument of the Bronze Age known on the island[6]. The small fort of Dún Cúl Bhuirg is the only monument of Iron Age date on the island and iscomparable in size and situation to many of the forts on Mull and in adjacent areas[7].

This continuity of occupation poses the idea that Iona may have been occupied up until and even after Colum Cille's arrival on the Island. There is a further possibility of this (which will be discussed in greater depth later) from archaeological evidence which suggests that an enclosure existed before the *vallum* of the Columban monastery was built. There are also stories of 'druids' on the island before Colum Cille's arrival who were bishops and who claimed that they had already planted the Christian faith there. Colm Cille did not believe that they had been properly ordained and ordered them to depart, which they did. However, it seems that these stories only emerge in eighteenth century accounts. Druids had a fascination for eighteenth century antiquarians, who misinterpreted the evidence accordingly. That evidence was ultimately the Middle Irish homily, which has no authority for sixth-century circumstances but the idea that there was a community on Iona, before Colum Cille came, must not be dismissed. We wonder why such an isolated island was chosen – could it have been because some sort of Christian community already existed there? Indeed there is no reason why there could not have been a Christian community there. We have evidence of Palladius being sent to Ireland by Celestine, bishop of the city of Rome, as the first bishop to the Irish who believe in Christ[8] , as early as 431. This implies that there was already a substantial Christian community in Ireland by 431 for a bishop to be sent so it is likely, as there was constant contact established long before the sixth century between northern Ireland and western Scotland, that areas like Iona had already been converted. It has been suggested that some of the islands around Iona had Christian communities long before Colum Cille arrived which makes it even more likely that Iona had a Christian community. However as primary historical sources do not even provide us with the bare bones and archaeological evidence is scarce, we can be in no way certain as to whether any community existed on Iona.

Why Colum Cille left Ireland, when he left Ireland and how he ended up in Iona are other important pieces that contribute to Iona's history but unfortunately they are often overlooked and again the primary sources do not always provide the answers. Twice, Adomnán relates the date of Colum Cille's departure from Ireland to two years after the battle of Cúl Dreimhne. Sources imply that the battle was fought in 561 and that it was a significant encounter in which the northern Uí Néill defeated the southern Uí Néill rivals led by the high-king of Tara, Diarmait Mac Cerbaill. Unfortunately the cause of the battle is not recorded in any contemporary sources but the Annals of Ulster do say that the northerners gained the victory 'through the prayers of Colum Cille'. From this and the

small amount of information in the Annals of Tigernach it seems that the battle was viewed as a battle between Christianity and paganism. However, there are many different legends about the battle found in later texts. One of these tells how Colum Cille himself was responsible for the battle[9]. Colum Cille was said to have been visiting Saint Finnian of Clonard when he found a manuscript of the Psalms and, fearing that Finnian would refuse him permission to copy it, he began doing so secretly. Some of Finnian's followers soon became aware of what Colum Cille was doing and so reported what was happening to Finnian. However Finnian decided not to intervene until Colum Cille had finished copying the manuscript. Later, at a fitting time, he sent for Colum Cille and argued that the transcript was his since he had not given permission for the manuscript to be copied. Colum Cille was enraged by this and brought the matter before Diarmait Mac Cerbaill. Diarmait eventually judged in favour of Finnian and uttered the famous judgement – "*Le gach boin a boinín, le gach leabhar a leabhran"* – To every cow its calf, to every book its copy. It is often claimed that this is one of the oldest references in history to the idea of copyright, although the story is much later than the reign of Diarmait Mac Cerbaill[10] . However after this event Colum Cille escaped and made his way back to his own people who were infuriated by the insults of Diarmait and so prepared for battle. The result of all this was the battle of Cúl Dreimhne. Some later sources suggest that Colum Cille's guilt for his alleged role in the death of those who fell in battle was the cause of his going into exile in Scotlan[11]. However Adomnán tells us that Colum Cille attended the 'Fair of Tailtiú' (Teltown, Co. Meath) which is likely to have taken place the year after the battle .Adomnán tells us that at 'Tailtiú' Colum Cille was excommunicated 'for some trivial and quite excusable offences by a synod that, as eventually became known, had acted wrongly '[12]. After this Adomnán says that it was 'during this period, St. Columba crossed to Britain with twelve disciples as his fellow soldiers [13]'. These accounts are inconsistent for if Colum Cille felt the need to go into exile after the battle why was there a need for him to go to an assembly that had been'convoked against him[14]' the following year. It seems likely from this that Colum Cille was still prepared to fight his corner and that his feeling of guilt came many years later from his devoted followers. We have no definite reason as to why Colum Cille left Ireland from this but it is likely that after gaining the favour of Saint Brendan at the synod he felt it might be wise to walk out before his luck ran out or it is possible that he felt it truly was time to repent for his sins.

The second part of this, which is how Colum Cille ended up on Iona, is just as complicated. There is the pleasing story that Colum Cille left Ireland vowing never to look on that land again and that he sailed north-east and landed first on Oronsay, the small island connected to Colonsay, but finding that Ireland could still be seen from the higher ground, he continued further until he landed at St. Columba's Bay in Iona; having climbed the hill above this bay he found no view of Ireland, he raised a pile of stones there, *Carn Cúil ri Érenn* 'the Cairn of Back towards Ireland[15]'. It appears that Medieval Irish poetry used *Cúl rí Érenn* as a nickname for Colum Cille the exile, so the name of the hill means 'Colum Cille's Cairn'. However the story is obviously a Hebrides folk-tale intended to explain the name of the hill after the saint's nickname has been forgotten. The idea that Colum Cille sailed away into the unknown, having no idea where he was going, ties in with the voyage tales, a type of story known already in the time of Adomnán. There is no evidence to suggest that Colum Cille's voyage fell into this category as the Hebrides were not unknown territory to the Irish. There was constant contact established long before the

sixth century between northern Ireland and western Scotland and it is even quite possible that Colum Cille was already acquainted with Conall Mac Comgaill, King of the Dál Riada in Ireland and Scotland[16]. Dr. Smyth in his book *Warlords and Holy Men* supposes that Colum Cille may not have settled at Iona until ten years after he came to Britain. He says that on a close reading of the *Vita* that Adomnán suggests that Colum Cille's earliest base in Scotland was on the unidentified island of Hinba and that he moved from there at the beginning of the reign of Áedán Mac Gabráin to take up permanent residence in Iona in 574 [17]. The story here is that while Colum Cille was living on the island of Hinba, he was bidden by an angel to ordain Áedán as king; Áedán had already gone to Iona, where the ordination took place in due course. However, the Annals tell us that Iona was given to Colum Cille by Áedán's predecessor, Conall Mac Comgaill, so it makes no sense to suppose that Colum Cille should have delayed taking up the gift of the island until Áedán preceded him to Iona for ordination, nor that the ordination should take place at an undeveloped site[18] .

Some sources suggest that Iona was given to Colum Cille by Conall of Dál Riada, which is plausible due to family links, while others suggest that he was given Iona by the Picts. Adomnán, on referring to another battle prophesised by Colum Cille two years after the battle of Cúl Dreimne, said, 'The saint gave a full account of it in Britain, in the presence of King Conall Mac Comgaill". Taking this passage literally it would imply that in 563, at the time of Colum Cille's first departure from Ireland, he visited king Conall Mac Comgaill, leader of the Scottish Dál Riada[19]. This visitation of the king before the foundation of the monastery on Iona may imply that the island was granted to Colum Cille by the Dál Riada . The Annals of Iona confirm this notion as the obituary notice for king Conall in 574 says 'Death in the sixteenth year of his reign of Conall son of Comgall who granted the Island of Ia to Colum Cille'[20] This explanation seems straightforward. However, Bede, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, says that Colum Cille having arrived in Iona from the Picts, 'whom he turned to the faith of Christ[21]. Throughout the *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bede always associates Colum Cille with the Picts. He thought that Colum Cille 'came from Ireland to Britain to preach the word of God in the provinces of the northern Picts[22]'. Bede supposed that the mission was quickly successful; saying that on arrival in Britain Colum Cille converted the king of the Picts and received from his people the island of Iona where he founded his monastery [23]. Bede's account has generally been followed by historians even though the other two sources give us a more logical explanation. Could it be that Bede was not aware of the east – west political division in Scotland at the time and simply referred to all people in Scotland as Picts? This is fairly unlikely as Bede was an intelligent man but we should keep in mind the distance between these northern communities and Jarrow and also the limited amount of contact Bede had with northerners. It is more reasonable to assume that when Colum Cille arrived in Britain, possibly as an unprotected exile, 'He sought out the protection of the local king – himself an Irishman well connected in northern Ireland – and obtained from him a site where he could settle and build a monastery [24]'. Adomnán also provides us with evidence for the territorial boundaries of the sixth and seventh century Pictish kingdom and for the unlikelihood that its kings had ever exercised a real authority on the Scottish west coast. To back Adomnán's evidence there is also a 'closely-coincident' distribution of place names containing an identifiably Pictish element and two distinctive types of decorated boulder or stone slab, 'predominantly to the east of the spine of Britain[25]'. It seems that in

n this instance the evidence from Adomnán and the Annals of Iona over rule Bede's account, however we must not ignore the existence of such an account.

How Colum Cille ended up on Iona we cannot be certain. However, we do know for definite that he founded a monastery there. Often, when looking at Iona, we pay close attention to Colum Cille and the other people in the monastery and place emphasis on the historical evidence for the events that supposedly occurred there. However some of the most reliable evidence for life in the monastery and for the construction of the monastery itself comes from the archaeology of the area and an in-depth look at the primary sources.

The site of the early monastery, which was presumably chosen by Colum Cille himself when he arrived on the Island about 563, was on a gently sloping eastern plain, about 400m north of its narrowest point which was subsequently occupied by the medieval nunnery and modern village[26] .We may wonder how Colum Cille and his companions were supplied with food or with building materials during their first season on Iona. As Colum Cille supposedly arrived in Britain on June, and even if he only stayed a short time with Conall MacCongall, there would have been no time to clear ground and plant and harvest a crop before the winter. It seems, therefore, that the new foundation must have depended on outside help for a year or more.

During its early centuries, the buildings of Colum Cille's monastery at Iona would have been constructed almost exclusively of wood. Adomnán specifically mentions the importation of oak from the mainland for the monastic buildings[27] , while wattles are mentioned for the building of the guest-house[28] . The fashion of building churches in stone seems to have been a relatively late development in Ireland. The earliest reference to the building of a stone church in Ireland comes from the annals in the place name *Dam Liac*, 'stone church', Co. Meath, in 725[29] .

The surviving evidence for the boundaries of the early monastery on Iona varies in nature. Substantial remains of a ditch with inner and outer ramparts are visible on the west side of Cnoc Nan Cárnan, and on the upper terrace above the inland cliffs south of Clachanach, but its continuation E of the road, on the north east side of the enclosure, has been almost entirely obliterated by ploughing. On the northern and southern sides the evidence is in the form of crop marks or the results of geophysical survey .[30] The surviving remains of the *vallum* have always been rather unfathomable as they suggest a rectangular rather than a circular shape as is the case in Irish monasteries. Excavation of a section of the bank at Iona has provided a likely explanation for the unusual shape of the enclosure. A layer of peat had already developed in the area where the bank was erected. As it was a living surface, the dating of the surface of the peat on which the bank was erected could, theoretically, indicate the date of the bank. Radiocarbon analysis suggests that the bank predated the Columban foundation [31]. The dating provided a range of 5BC –AD125 at 66% probability or 40 BC –AD220 at 95% probability[32].



Iona

Evidence of activity during the first few centuries AD was found within the area of the monastic *vallum*, including a shard of Roman pottery from the south of England of approximately the 1st or 2nd century AD[33]. It is likely from this that when Colum Cille and his monks arrived at Iona they utilized an already existing section of bank and ditch to form the western part of the *vallum*[34] . Does this mean there could have been a pre-Columban Christian settlement as Laing suggests? This is possible, however, as archaeological evidence implies that if there was such a community it is likely that it had had little time to affect the vegetation, or else it may have been situated in a different part of the island.It does seem likely, however, that the areas around Iona and possibly Iona itself did have, to some extent, Christian communities. This is implied by the fact that most of the people who sought out Colum Cille seem to already be Christian and this is clearly seen when a couple in Ardnamurchan bring their child to him for baptism[35]. The only certain pagan is the old man who is brought by boat to Colum Cille on the shore of Skye to accept the Christian faith and baptism[36].

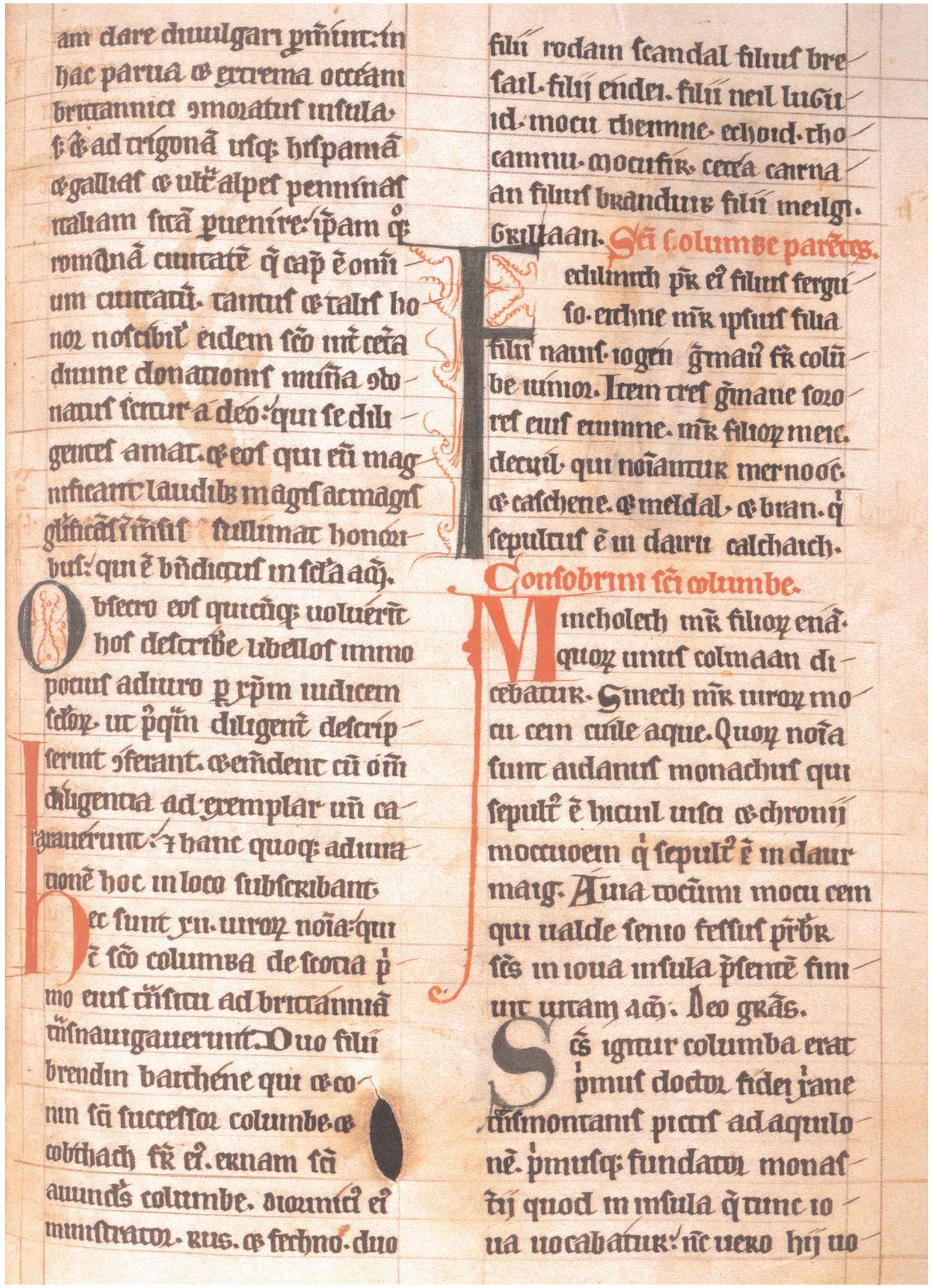
The enclosure probably contained the monastic cemetery, the garden and perhaps an orchard[37]. It may also have contained ancillary buildings, possibly not following any ordered plan. Carpenters, wrights and other workshops would have been needed. The weaving of clothes, vestments, altar cloths and such may have partly been undertaken by the community. It seems that the farm building stood outside the enclosure. It is also noteworthy that all three crosses mentioned by Adomnán lay outside the enclosure. Two crosses commemorating the same event are situated a short distance apart, apparently on the way between the harbour and the monastery[38]. A cross also marked the spot in Adomnán's day where Colum Cille rested on his way back from the barn to the monastery on the last day of his life. It is interesting that such a commemorative object would have been placed outside the enclosure.

The buildings of Colum Cille's monastery, as described by Adomnán, included the church *(eclesia; oratorium; sacra domus)* with an attached chamber *(exedra)*; a number of work-

ing or sleeping huts for the monks *(cubiculia)*; a hut *(hospitiolum; hospitium; domus)* where Colum Cille himself slept 'having for his couch a bare rock, and for his pillow a stone'; another hut *(tegoriolum)* 'built in a higher place' and used by him for writing; a house or houses *(hospitium)* where guests were accommodated; and a communal building *(domus monasteriom)*, probably containing a kitchen and refectory.

Adomnán establishes Colum Cille at the beginning of the life as "father and founder of monasteries". His essential role, then, is in the context of community. The church appears to have been the focal point of the community's religious life. Adomnán usually calls it *eclesia* or *oratorium*, once *sacra domus*[39]. It is likely that this church paralleled that of Bishop Fínán's at Lindisfarne (after 651), built 'after the Irish method, *more Scottorum*, not of stone but of hewn oak' and thatched 'with reeds[40]'. The framework of the building was presumably provided by vertical squared timbers, set directly in the ground or into horizontal beams laid in shallow trenches[41.] The walls of this central building may have been of planks rather than of interwoven wattle panels coated with clay[42] It is difficult to say what the roof may have been like but it is likely that it was open. The main floor space would have been large enough to hold the entire monastic community. There may have been only one window, in the centre of the east wall above the altar. The church was apparently lit at night only by the lamps of the brothers assembled for the office[43] . It seems that there was only one main door[44], probably in the west gable and possibly protected by a porch (as it says in iii. 20, that Colcu stands praying for a while one night beside the church door). The floor might have been of wood but it is just as likely to have been of earth. It seems that the ground plan of the church was not a simple rectangle as it was complicated by the existence of what Adomnán calls the *exedra*[45] . However it is difficult to know what exactly this structure was from Adomnán's terminology. It is possible that the exedra served as a sacristy or a side-chapel since Fergna entered it to pray. MacDonald suggests that it was actually partitioned and may have served both purposes[46] . The post holes found on excavation do not give us any clearer a view of what the church was like. Churches of this type could have been quite elaborate both inside and out. The monastic cemetery presumably lay adjacent to the church. The position of the cemetery in Iona may have been similar to that at Derry [47].
What appears to be the main domestic building of the enclosure is called by Adomnán both *magna domus*, 'great house', and *monasterium*. Adomnán refers to an incident in which a brother fell off the top of what is called in the chapter heading the *monasterium rotundum*, then being built in Durrow[48]. From this we understand that it was a building of a substantial height. It is not clear however if it is the same building where Colum Cille is driving monks 'in the construction of a large building[49]'. Adomnán also mentions timbers being brought by sea to Iona, for, amongst other things, the *magna domus*. It is likely that the 'great house' served as a building for daytime indoor activities, such as assembly and possibly recreation. It is likely that it was here that books were stored, as reading, writing and teaching were likely to have been an important part of such activities[50].

The great house may also have contained the refectory and kitchen. Anderson and Anderson came to this conclusion on the basis of the reference to a hearth and a vessel containing water in the monasterium[51]. This is feasible, though the evidence is hardly conclusive. One or more cooking and heating hearths might have sufficed for a small



Adomnán's Vita Columbae

community such as Iona may have been originally. However, a larger community such as that over which Adomnán presided would have required the more formal arrangement of a proper kitchen and the only reference to the refectory, *refectorium*, is that at Aghaboe[52].

The guest-house, *hospitium*, is mentioned several times by Adomnán. On one occasion Colum Cille asks for the guest-house on Iona to be prepared against the unforeseen arrival of St. Cainnech of Aghaboe[53] . It seems that the obligation of hospitality was considered a 'sacred duty[54] ' among monastic communities. Iona seems to have received many visitors and they appear to have been often a source of news of the outside world, especially Ireland. Probably the best example of the hospitality of the Iona community is the espisode concerning the exhausted crane from northern Ireland[55] .

Colum Cille's monastery seems to have been to a large extent self-supporting. The grain produced in Iona was barley[56], grown mainly on what Adomnán calls 'the western plain', the machair, an old raised beach covered by blown sand and rich in lime[57] . Colum Cille in old age was carried thither in a wagon[58], but the harvest was carried home by the monks on foot, during several days[59] .It seems that cattle were important to the Iona economy, perhaps especially for milk and also for skins[60]. A skin for holding milk was part of the regular equipment of a ship sailing to Ireland[61]. Sheep were also kept by the monks in Iona and we know this ascarcasses were being given away in charity[62] It is possible that the *opus maceriale* that was carried out on the machair, in the summer when Colum Cille died, was a stone enclosure for cattle or sheep. A surprising amount of evidence for the consumption of meat was found on excavation of the monastery. However, much was from after Colum Cille's time and allowance does have to be made for hospitality and local charity, both of which were probably exercised on a large scale compared with the size of the monastery[63].

It is reasonable to assume that work was required of all able-bodied members of the community. Some members of the community were skilled craftsmen. There were those who had the skill and equipment to 'melt' iron and evidence has been found of skilled working in wood and leather soon after AD600 if not before[64]. The milk vessel and its lid may have been made from local wood and the notably black ink of the Schaffhausen manuscript could have had Iona holly as an ingredient[65]. Hard physical work was also carried out by the monks and we find evidence of this when Adomnán says that they carried home the harvest after reaping all day and that Colum Cille's monks in Durrow carried out the building work in winter weather [66].

Unfortunately there is nothing in Adomnán to give us an idea of the size of the community on Iona in the sixth century. Colum Cille is said to have been accompanied to Britain by 'twelve disciples'[67] and this may be true. However, interestingly, the first man to die in the monastery, a monk *Brito*[68] , perhaps 'a Briton', was not one of the twelve[69] .

We know that Colum Cille's monastery at Iona was organised like monastic foundations in Ireland at the time from a dispute that arose about the Easter question. Adomnán used the term 'Irish churches' (*ecclesiae*, plural) in reference to this dispute and there is no implication that the Irish churches were not at one in the essentials of church doctrine and dogma[70]. Some historians have suggested that the Irish church was disorganised and did

not follow Rome in the period concerned, but there is no evidence for this. Nor is there any evidence that their disagreements were somehow the result of 'disorganised growth'. Adomnán, in fact, offers us some of the earliest evidence for formal organisation of the church when he mentions the synod held at Teltown Co. Meath in order to pass a sentence of excommunication on Colum Cille [71]. We know that the Irish church was organised from this so it is safe to assume that a similar organisation existed on Iona and that it was joined with the Irish system. The monastery at Iona, however, appears to have been monastic from the onset, meaning that it always had an abbot at its head. The early churches in Ireland, on the other hand, appear to have begun using an Episcopal system, meaning that they had a bishop at their head like the church in Rome.

By 574 Iona appears to be an established centre with at least one dependency, Hinba. Other daughter houses were also founded in the Hebrides, of which the most important was at Mag Luinge in the island of Tiree. As Sharpe suggests, it is possible the house at Tiree was established to take advantage of Tiree's fertile soils to supply the monks of the community in Iona and elsewhere. Colum Cille appointed a prior to both of these houses, as he did in his Irish foundation of Durrow, which may suggest that their dependencies were linked to Iona under an organised 'structure of authority '.[72]

The combination of historical and archaeological evidence used in this essay helps us construct an image of individual aspects of the island of Iona. Most importantly we have taken into account the isolated location of the island and looked at life on Iona before Colum Cille landed there. From this we have been able to confirm that there was a settlement on Iona before Colum Cille arrived. It seems that at the prehistoric and Iron Age settlements on the island were most likely seasonal, while evidence of an earlier enclosure under the *vallum* could suggest a settlement of a more permanent nature prior to the foundation the monastery. However, no evidence has been found to confirm this suggestion and the secondary sources which mention the existence of druids on the island have been found unreliable.

While trying to answer the questions, as to why Colum Cille left Ireland, when he left Ireland and how he ended up in Iona, we have become increasingly confused. There are no simple answers and no one source that provides us with reliable information so all we can do is present the ideas from various accounts and work on the basis of probability. Working on this principle it is seems most likely that Colum Cille had to get out of Ireland regardless of his beliefs or feelings of guilt over the battle of Cúl Dreimhne. We know that he attended the synod at Teltown and historical sources seem to imply that he left Ireland shortly afterwards with his twelve fellow soldiers. We will never know whether St. Brendan truly saw holy angels soaring around Colum Cille or whether he was giving him his final chance to remain in the religious life. Could it even be possible that it was St. Brendan who encouraged Colum Cille to leave Ireland, perhaps realising he was in danger? Again we cannot be certain. It does appear, however, that leaving with twelve followers was not just a coincidence. It is likely that he thought that having the same number of followers as Jesus had apostles would help him gain the favour of any Christian communities he encountered. It is also a possibility that when he arrived in Britain he found no such communities and that it was at that stage that he sought out the protection of Conall Mac Comgaill, king of the Dál Riada. Could this also be the reason why the isolated island of Iona was chosen for the foundation of the monastery? It is clear from these

suggestions that there is a great lack of reliable evidence and that from each reading of the primary sources, such as Adomnán's *Vita Columba*, we can conjure up a completely different story.

For the actual construction of the monastery we have more reliable evidence as we have archaeological and historical evidence. The historical evidence is believed to be more reliable in this instance as there would be no reason to glorify the actual buildings themselves. The archaeological evidence is reliable but the main problem is that so much of it has been destroyed. It seems that the monastery on Iona was quite similar in construction to those in Ireland, which is not surprising. The foundation included the church *(ecclesia)* with an attached chamber *(exedra)*, a number of working or sleeping huts for the monks *(cubiculia)*, a number of other small huts which Colum Cille used, a couple of guest houses and a communal building *(domus monasterium)*. It is likely that these were the buildings at the centre of the foundation with workshop huts and the laymen's huts lying outside the enclosure. The main way in which the monastic foundation differs from those in Ireland is that the *vallum* surrounding it is square rather than round but as suggested earlier this may have been because it was constructed on top of an earlier enclosure.

Life in the monastery seems to have been quite typical of monastic life in Ireland. The community appear to have been to a large extent self supporting. When the monks were not carrying out their religious duties, they were busy with everyday farm work such as rearing cattle and sheep and producing grain, especially barley. It appears that the monk's religious life was centred around the church. At least four of the canonical hours[73] are mentioned by Adomnán. On the evening before Colum Cille died he 'entered the church for Vespers'[74] and when the bell rang for Nocturns he ran to the church where he died before the altar. Tierce and the office of Nones, which was usually followed by the main meal of the day, are also mentioned, giving us four canonical hours.It seems from all this that monastic life on Iona, once it was established, was quite peaceful and little changed up until Colum Cille's death (the date of which is another slightly confusing area). This essay has traced life in Iona from its humble prehistoric settlements to the foundation of one of the most notable Irish monasteries and right through to the death of the founding saint, Colum Cille. It may not have succeeded in recreating in our minds a complete image of life on Iona but hopefully it has made certain aspects clearer. "Here, at the end of the page, I must stop. "[74]

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1 Sharpe, *VC*, iii 23 " On this place, small and mean though it be, a great blessing will bestow."

2 *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland – Argyll: an inventory of the monuments*. Vol. 4: Iona pp. 1

3 *Inventory of Argyll*, 3, pp. 3-4

4 Barber *Iona excavations*

5 *Inventory of Argyll* pp. 4

6 *PSAS*, 106 (1974-5), pp. 30-3

7 Inventory of *Argyll*, 3, pp. 72-92, Nos. 123-64

8 *Prosper of Aquitaine Chronicle* c.1307 (AD 431)

9 Manus O'Donnell *Betha Colaim Chille* .

10 Lacy, *Colum Cille and the Columban Tradition,* pp. 18

11 Lacy, pp. 19
12 Sharpe, *VC*, iii 3
13 Sharpe, *VC* + look at the notes 356 pp. 353
14 Sharpe, *VC* iii 3
15 Sharpe, *VC*, intro, pp. 15
16 Sharpe, *VC*, intro, p. 16
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35 Sharpe, *VC*, ii. 10
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58 Sharpe, *VC*, ii. 28
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GLENSWILLY – FROM SOURCE TO THE LOUGH

May McClintock

There are few more lovely valleys in the world than Glenswilly if only seen at the right time and season, which is on a soft Autumn afternoon when the sun is bright and the corn is being cut along the holms

Rev. Richard Sinclair Brooke, 1829.[1]

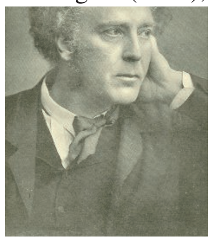
I recalled these lines one Autumn evening as I walked along Meenaroy in search of the source of the Swilly. The words were written by the first curate of Conwal, Rev. Richard Brooke. The holms and sallows are still there but the corn stacks are gone. So too are the thatched homes of the harvesters which are replaced by modern bungalows. Instead I can see great lines of fir trees marching down the hillsides, denying light to the forest floor. It is now more than fifty years since Meenaroy was planted at a time when work was scarce. Unfortunately for me, it has made it all the more difficult to find the source of the river as I set off with my children in tow. I had help with me on my search, however. I was in the company of a man from Altanerin named Mick McGinley, better known as Mickey Hughie. He took us deep into the forest and explained how the habitat had changed since the conifers were planted. Before that, it was possible to see the small lough which is in fact the source of the Swilly. Now it has disappeared and the ground is criss-crossed with a series of drains. Mick was a great story teller and he knew every inch of Meenaroy. He had a great collection of folk tales. We walked on, deep in conversation. We were heading towards Craghy, Altarnerin and Breenagh. It is said that the river got its name from the Irish word for "eyes". Brooke wrote poetically about the place :

> *Through the glen winding and twisting like a serpent runs the Swilly, pronounced "suillie", poetical in sound and significance, the word meaning "eyes", expressive of its stream which dimples all over with eyes on its way to the sea.*

Who was this Richard Brooke? He was a clergyman of the Church of Ireland who came to Conwal in 1830. At that time, Glendooen rectory was the home of the rector. When Brooke became curate, he married the daughter of the rector and for the duration of his curacy, he lived with Dr. and Mrs. Stopford. It was here in this rectory, where I live, that their first son Stopford Brooke was born in 1832[2]. I shall return to the rectory later. Brooke would have been well-known in the Glen as many Conwal parishioners lived there at that time. Here is a list of the Church of Ireland members between Crossogs and Foxhall in 1879:

Eliza Carson and her children James, Charles and Robert of Crossogs.
Alexander Clarke, Fanny, Rebecca (born 1878), William (born 1880) of Kilmasney.
James Kane, Driminaught.
Henry Shannon and his sisters Ann and Eliza, Driminaught.
Mary Wilkin, (born 1846) and her sister Ann (born 1856), Driminaught.

Philip Doyne, Captain Henry Doyne, Mrs Doyne, Fanny, John and William, Foxhall House.
William James and his wife, sons Richard (born 1870) and John, who was the coachman at New Mills.
William Robinson and his wife Ann, Matilda (born 1864), Foxhall.
William Jamieson and his wife Mary, Alexander (born 1871) Thomas (born 1873) Matthew (born 1881), Dooen near Foxhall.
Edward and Rebecca White, Edward (born 1871) Elizabeth Jane (born 1872) Maria Ann (born 1874) and Georgina (1878), Driminaught.



Rev. Stopford Brooke in 1884

There were Presbyterian families too – Rankins, Stewarts, Stevensons and Parkers. I know Rev. T.A.N. Parker who ministered diligently in Northern Ireland for over forty years and promoted ecumenism long before it became an issue. The Rankins were also prominent and I recall a story I heard about their objections to organ music in church. As members of the congregation were divided on the matter, it was decided to take a vote. It was during the month of January and the Rankins walked in a snowstorm to their local church to cast their votes against the installation of an organ. A member of the family, Rev. Rankin became Moderator of the Presbyterian Church. He received his primary education in Trainkeel School in Glenswilly. There he sat side by side with his fellow Catholic, Anglican and Methodist fellow pupils. He continued his education in Letterkenny and was taught by the Christian Brothers.

GLENSWILLY – FROM SOURCE TO THE LOUGH.

We pause briefly at Trainkeel School before we call on Miss Katie McGeehan to hear some of her stories and folklore. Her family are keen historians and her parents were teachers at the school. The Master – as he was called – collected folklore from Seán Bán McMenamin, long before it was fashionable to do so. Other names feature in our conversation – the poets Mick McGinley, who wrote the song, "Glenswilly" and his sister Brigid, Cú Uladh and Dr. McGinley.[3] Edward McFadden was elected M.P. for East Donegal in the general election of 1900[4]. There were several policemen living in the district and stories are related about their exploits with poteen makers, poachers and even peace makers. The rule of law was tempered by the Glenswilly Decree which was passed by a group of local men who came together to deal with petty law breakers.[5] In one instant, a foray was carried out under cover of darkness against an errant neighbour, a father who refused to carry out his promise to give his daughter a feather bed as a dowry. On another occasion, a bee-hive and honey were seized for non-payment of a debt.

I wish we could have lingered at Trainkeel but we must move on to Foxhall. In former times, families drew an income from poteen-making and from winter grazing. The two went hand-in-hand. The Laggan farmers came to Glenswilly to graze their cattle during the winter thus protecting their own green pastures for hay and summer grazing. They paid a rent of a shilling a head for the grazing rights. The Glenswilly distillers in turn traded their poteen with the well-heeled Laganeers. Woe betide anyone who "forgot" to pay – a visit from the legislators and executive departments was sure to follow. In summer, the young girls went "booleying". Cattle were taken to high ground in the hills and sod houses were built. The cows were milked and butter was churned. Sometimes it was necessary to bury the butter in the bog as the herding season dragged on. In wintertime, the same young women gathered in a "raking" house where they assembled with their spinning wheels and worked through the long dark evenings as they chatted and sang. An idyllic life?

We are now at Roshedog, where we turn our backs firmly on the destruction of deciduous woodland. Stopford Brooke paid his first visit to his birthplace at the age of 71 in 1903. After the visit he wrote:

> *Fate gave us a charming day to see my birthplace. We drove to Glendooen, passing Ballymacool, the Boyd's place, and then over the oldest bridge in Donegal, Roshedog, where the river was dark and amber under thorns and alders. My grandfather built the house, an honest square standing firm on a rise of ground.*[6]

Roshedog Bridge is indeed an interesting piece of architecture, which hopefully can be preserved. Dúchas has carried out restoration at New Mills on the banks of the river. The mills have been restored; the old forge and the last thatched house are now tourist attractions. Up to a few years ago, New Mills was a lively place but the closure of the school, the post office, the shop and the pub hastened its demise. The street was once the focal point of the area, where old and young gathered to exchange news or gaze over the parapet of the bridge and watch the salmon try to travel up stream to the spawning beds. I am wondering who chose this site for a mill. Recently, Brian Boyd, a member of the Boyd family of Ballymacool who lives in England, provided the answer. John Boyd of

Ballymacool leased “the newly-restored mill” in 1760 from the Bishop of Raphoe at a yearly rent of £120 together with a duty of one fat pig and twelve fat hens also payable. It is suggested that there was an older mill on the site, owned by the Established Church. Perhaps the mill also served the monks who resided in the abbey at Conwal.

My journey takes me past Glendooen rectory which served the parish of Conwal from 1814 to 1919. The house was well known to local residents as a place where help and advice were always available. One of the rectors was a member of the Temperance Society and many a soul came to take the pledge, only to return home by New Mills and forget the purpose of the visit. During the Tithe Wars in the 1830s the rector was under



Glendooen Rectory, New Mills, Letterkenny.The gentleman seated at the side of the house is probably Dean Baillie, rector of Conwal (1876-1903). Rectors ceased to live here in 1917

siege from the tenants, demanding the abolition of the tithe, a tax payable for the upkeep of the Established Church.[7] It is reported that up to one hundred persons gathered outside the gates shouting abuse. The rector’s response was to close all the doors and windows. He invited his daughter to join him in the recitation of the psalms in order to drown the noise. The rectory later came into the possession of the McClintock family and John McClintock carried on a veterinary practice here for forty years, providing a service for farmers from Falcarragh to the outskirts of the Laggan.

If we move to the bank of the river at the road sign marked Dooen Glebe, we will try to visualise how this area looked until the end of the seventeenth century. To-day, we can see the cathedral and part of Letterkenny in the distance. Before the town was developed, the place where we are standing was the only crossing on the river. This is Scariffhollis, the Ford of Light, where the O’Donnell clan had a castle. It was also the scene of a battle in

Cromwellian times. Here on 21 June 1650, an Irish army led by Bishop Heber McMahon was defeated.[8] A white stone marks the spot and was erected by a Conwal rector in memory of the hundreds killed in the battle. When the road was widened a few years ago, the county engineer left a lay-by for a more fitting memorial which was erected in June 2000.

We can now proceed along the banks of the river passing Conwal Abbey, Rockhill and Ballymacool. We can pause for a while at Oldtown Bridge. The holms or low-lying fields were prone to flooding until the 1960s. The Board of Works raised the banks and reinforced them with large boulders. Flooding ceased to be a problem but in the process of providing a solution, bushes and scrub, where otters once sheltered, were removed. St. Fiachra was revered here at the site of the early monastery. He is the patron saint of gardeners. The graveyard contains many ancient stones and slabs. One of them commemorates Godfrey O’Donnell who died in 1258. Further on, to the right, we can see Rockhill House, the only remaining big house associated with the Chambers family. The Chambers built Rockhill, Foxhall and Gartan. They are also associated with the Boyds of Ballymacool.

At Oldtown Bridge, we can stop and talk to Charlie and Rose Devlin who maintain the landscaped gardens on the banks of the river. The river has played an important part in the economic life of the town surrounded by fine agricultural land. There was weekly communication with the Clyde, the Mersey and cross-Channel ports.[9] The Swilly Basin was then owned by the McKinney family and later by Charles Kelly, Ltd. Under the Kellys the port thrived, exporting bacon, eggs and butter, with imports such as timber coming from Finland, Norway and Sweden, salt from Carrickfergus and Cheshire, coal and steel from the Midlands of England. Other cargoes came from Ayr in Scotland and Swansea in Wales. Many Letterkenny families have vivid memories of the ships and their crews. Visitors were frequently amazed to see the superstructure of a large ship coming up the river at spring tide. It appeared to be travelling through the fields as it followed the contours of the river.

Further on, we come to the Thorn, which is a wildlife habitat. As we come close to the river mouth, we arrive at Fearsat Mór, where a famous battle took place in 1576, when Shane O’Neill tried to overrun Tír Chonaill. The O’Donnells were the victors, aided by the Sweeneys of Doe, Boylagh and Banagh.We have travelled from the peaceful hills of Meenaroy to the Thorn. I hope you enjoy this journey along the Swilly, “which dimples all over with eyes on its way to the sea”.

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[1] Rev. Richard Sinclair Brooke was the father of Rev. Stopford Augustus Brooke.

[2] Rev. Stopford Brooke was ordained in 1857 and became curate at Marylebone, London. He was later chaplain to the Princess Royal in Berlin and was appointed chaplain in ordinary to Queen Victoria. He was a prolific author and poet and numbered the poets Tennyson and Matthew Arnold among his friends.

[3] For more information on Cú Uladh, see “Cú Uladh- Peter Toner McGinley 1856-1942”, Pádraig S. Mac a’ Ghoill, *Donegal Annua*l, no. 45, (Ballyshannon, 1993), pp. 69-71

“Attention pay, my countrymen, and hear my native news,
Although my song is sorrowful, I hope you’ll me excuse;
I left my native country a foreign land to see,



The Bridges of the Swilly

Swilly Bridges. Left to right (top) New Mills Bridge, Port Bridge, Letterkenny (bottom) Suile Bridge (Treankeel/Breenagh) and Roshedog Bridge. Not included – Barrack/Kilpatrick Bridge and Oldtown Bridge, Letterkenny.

I bade farewell to Donegal, likewise to Glenswilly"
The above are the opening lines of the song Glenswilly.

4 B.M. Walker, (ed.), *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1801-1922,* (Dublin 1972), p. 159.

5 Conall Mac Cuinneagáin, *Glencolmcille, A Parish History*, (Dublin, 2002), p. 166

6 Laurence Pearsall Jacks, *Life and Letters of Stopford Brooke,* (London, 1917), p. 6

7 For information on the operation of the tithe levy, see *Donegal Annual,* No. 57, pp. 72-86.

8 Liam Ronayne, (ed.), *The Battle of Scariffhollis,* (Letterkenny, 2001), p. 20

9 John Baird, *The Port, a short illustrated history of port Ballyraine, Letterkenny* (Letterkenny, 2002), p.13

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Photos – Author and Ita Carr. Rectory photograph is from the Lawrence Collection by permission of National Library of Ireland

PARISH COMMITTEES AND THE HOMES OF DONEGAL (1898-1914)

Seán Beattie

The traditional image of the white-washed thatched cottage is a key feature in Donegal heritage. In this paper some of the historical influences that helped to create that image are discussed.

One of the aims of the Congested Districts Board (CDB) which was established in 1891 was the improvement of living conditions in some of the poorest regions on the west coast of Ireland. Classification of an area as congested was based on a valuation under the Poor Law of under thirty shillings per head of population in an electoral division. Twenty electoral divisions were identified in County Donegal as congested. The administrative unit for the purposes of the CDB was the county. While some parts of Donegal were initially excluded when the CDB was set up, the work of the CDB was extended to the entire county in 1909.

HOUSING IN DONEGAL

The deplorable state of rural housing is partly explained by social and economic conditions. In the 1880s, during the Land War, tenants were being evicted or under threat of eviction and their homes were sometimes rendered uninhabitable. There was therefore very little incentive for tenants to make basic improvements in their dwelling houses. In some districts, such as Gweedore, the Land War was fought with great intensity and many homes were demolished[1]. The number of inhabited houses in the county according to the census of 1901 was 34,736. The census classified houses into four categories, the poorest of which was class four, being houses built of mud or other perishable materials.[2] Walls were built with large turf sods; roof timber was made of oak obtained from boglands; rushes were used as thatch. The houses had no windows and there was a hole in the roof for a chimney. Until the mid-nineteenth century, a system of house clusters or "clachans" was in operation in the county, with open fields and fragmented holdings. West Town on Tory Island is considered to be slightly larger than the average "clachan".[3] The CDB rearranged the houses of West Town but left the township intact so that it is possible today to get some idea of what a "clachan" looked like.[4] In North Inishowen, a clachan can be seen at Ballymagarrighy.

THE PARISH COMMITTEE SCHEME

The concept of a parish committee scheme was drafted in 1897 by the Chief Land Inspector of the CDB, Henry Doran, who became a member of the CDB in January 1910. The proposal to establish a committee in every parish in congested districts was presented to a CDB meeting by Fr. Denis O'Hara, a member of the CDB from 1893 until his death in 1922 who became parish priest of Kiltimagh in Co. Mayo in 1888[5] At first, the parish committees aimed to improve the standard of housing in congested areas by encouraging tenants to make permanent improvements to their houses and holdings. Some tenants built on an extra room or an outoffice for cattle, pigs or poultry. An urgent priority of every committee was the building of outoffices so that cattle could be removed from dwelling houses.[6] This could be done either by constructing new buildings or by converting part of the living accommodation for cattle. Tenants were encouraged to replace clay floors with concrete, plant shelter belts, create gardens for vegetables and flowers, make farm roads and to carry out improvements on their farms by fencing open areas and reclaiming wet lands.

Some features of the parish committee scheme were successfully in operation in Foxford, Co Mayo, under the guidance of an enterprising nun, before parish committees were established throughout the congested regions. Mother Arsenius of the Sisters of Charity was appointed to Ballaghadereen in 1877 and was a major influence on Fr. O'Hara before his appointment to the CDB. She encouraged children to grow plants and flowers and awarded prizes at a local show for the best specimens. Householders who improved the appearance of their houses by removing manure pits from the front of the house were also awarded prizes.[7]



Cottage at Ballaban, Culdaff, 1994

GARTAN AND GWEEDORE

Concern was expressed about the standard of housing in some parts of the congested districts in Donegal in the Baseline Reports commissioned by the CDB in 1891. In parts of Gartan, the houses were described as "wretched and miserable" by the CDB inspector, Townsend Gahan, although in Gweedore, despite the ravages of the Land War, he describes the houses as "superior to those in any other district in Donegal".[8] Contemporary observers who visited the country such as the French writer Louis Paul-Dubois criticised landlords who housed their agricultural labourers in unsanitary hovels.[9] In order to remedy the situation, small grants and monetary prizes were awarded by parish committees as an incentive to carry out improvements. [10]

Parish committees had both nominated and elected members when they were established in 1898 and represented a model of local democracy at work. The ex-officio members were local clergy of all denominations, Poor Law guardians and landlords. Six residents of the parish were elected by rated resident landholders at a public meeting. Any tenant whose valuation under the Poor Law was under £7, who wished to carry out improvements submitted an application to the committee and a supervisor was appointed to take charge of the work. Donegal, Cork and Kerry were not included in the original parish committee scheme when it was established in 1898, but the exclusion of the three counties did not last for long.



William Morton, founder of Donegal carpet industry, with family group, 1913, on the occasion of his Golden Wedding celebrations. Morton's factories provided employment for women is south-west Donegal

Among the principal promoters of the parish committee scheme in County Donegal was Bishop Patrick O'Donnell of Raphoe and the diocesan clergy. The priests were aware of the potential of the parish scheme for the county and sanctioned a programme for parish committees on 11 July 1902.[11] O'Donnell presented a Memorandum dated 30 July 1902 at a meeting of the Board as a result of which the parish committee scheme was approved for Donegal.[12] At a meeting of the Land Committee of the CDB on 13 November 1902, approval was finally given to draft regulations prepared by Bishop O'Donnell for the working of the parish committee scheme in Donegal, Cork and Kerry. Parishes in the three counties were given permission by the CDB to start operations immediately but were advised that no grant would be payable until after 31 March 31[13]. In a letter dated 21 November 1902 and marked "Private", O'Donnell urged parish priests and curates "to go to work with vigour and determination". Expressing concern that non-congested districts were excluded, he viewed the scheme as a self-help programme which would occupy the tenant farmers during the winter months. "We shall have a hard battle here", he added, commenting that the scheme "would be no bad insurance against the spread of fever, consumption and diphtheria". An added incentive for priests, he suggested, would be a cleaner environment in which to work when on sick calls or on station rounds.[14] The clergy of Donegal took up the challenge and played a pivotal role in establishing and managing the parish committees.

From correspondence read at a Land Committee meeting on 13 November 1902,[15] it is evident that a committee was established in Meevagh and Gweedore towards the end of 1902. At local level, there was clearly a very strong level of demand for the establishment of parish committees throughout the county.

By 31 March 1902, there were forty parish schemes in operation; thirty-seven were active in three counties only, Mayo, Roscommon and Sligo, the remaining three operating separately in Cork, Galway and Leitrim.[16] The parish scheme was not officially established in Donegal until 1903, as it was introduced exclusively for what were considered the poorest of the congested districts. The CDB did not have the financial resources to meet all of the demands made upon it and was therefore very cautious about how it allocated its funds. The original criteria for the establishment of parish committees restricted their introduction to "a limited inland area of exceptional needs".[17] The emphasis was not on a massive injection of capital, but on promoting community development through self-help and cooperation and the encouragement of local initiative. By 1904 the parish scheme was functioning in thirty-three parishes in Donegal and was fully operational in all but three of them. [18]

CLONMANY

Farm improvement was a feature of the work in most of the parish committees. At a meeting of Clonmany parish committee, a request was made to the CDB to provide funds for the drainage of Carndoagh Bog. On 11 May 1904, it was agreed at a meeting of the Land Committee of the CDB to make a grant of £12 to the parish committee for the project, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Raphoe, Dr. O'Donnell, who had a major influence on the allocation of funds to committees in Donegal.[19] In large-scale drainage schemes,

groups of farmers provided their services free of charge because of the community aspect of the work. The grant acted as an incentive to have the work undertaken and the value of the project was several times the value of the original grant. All projects were carefully monitored by a supervisor appointed by the CDB and the grant was payable to a senior member of the parish committee, usually the local priest. Large scale drainage schemes were also undertaken at Ballyliffin and Crossconnell. The Clonmany parish committee did not confine its activities to land drainage only. The committee was very active in promoting house improvements and awarded prizes for the best cottages; the main concern was that there was insufficient funds to cope with requests for assistance, due to the unexpected popularity of the parish committee scheme. The work of the Clonmany parish scheme was typical of the activities of parish committees throughout the county.[20]A lesser known aspect of the work of the committees was the encouragement given to farmers to regularly spray their potato crops.

INVER

Meetings of parish committees were run in a business-like manner. At the start of every meeting, minutes were read and approved as part of the agenda. Officers such as Chairman and Secretary were appointed. Sub-committees were selected to deal with specific matters. Some members of parish committees had experience of Land League activity and were involved in the running of meetings and carrying out negotiations on the sale of estates to tenants. The report of the district supervisor was placed before the meeting and discussed in detail. An examination of one parish committee, *Inver Improvement Committee* as it was popularly known, provides an insight into the structure of parish committees generally. The chairman was the local doctor, Dr. O'Sullivan. Both Catholic and Protestant churches were represented; Rev. Percy Tydd, a Rector who was educated at Oxford was a member.[21] Fr. Maguire was secretary. Among the other members were William Mc Devitt, well-known miller and Patrick Quinn, a stone mason. At least six members of *Inver Improvement Committee* were also elected representatives of the Rural District Council. They were Patrick Quinn, Charles Campbell, Hugh Kelly, John Friel, John McGeever and James Barron.[22] Rural District Councillors formed the dominant group on the parish committees. Such committees provided a training ground for aspiring politicians who were in a position to keep parish committees informed of the business of the Rural District Council. At the meeting under review, one hundred and twenty-six cases were submitted to the parish committee seeking aid, an indication of the public response in the Inver area. One district, Frosses, was singled out for its outstanding work. In order to improve the appearance of the local area, an order was placed for plants and shrubs. Each committee was presented with two copies of Mr. Wright's *Profitable Fruit Growing* in 1902 to promote the development of cottage gardens.[23] Newspaper reports, carrying praiseworthy accounts of the work of the Inver Parish Improvement Committee, made it clear that expectations were very high:

> *It is confidently anticipated that the policy of the CDB in thus arousing a healthy rivalry among struggling householders in the direction of cleanliness, neatness, and sanitation will have achieved, in a year or two hence, a magnificent and exhaustive reform.*[24]



"Blue Bird" Travelling Caravan belonging to Women's Health Association of Ireland, used in Donegal in campaign against tuberculosis, 1909. Note use of Irish language on caravan.

Major differences were immediately evident in the introduction and implementation of the parish schemes in Donegal compared to other counties, for example Mayo. It was estimated that the financial allocation to Donegal when the scheme was introduced would have been an average of £33 per parish committee in the congested area of the county.[25] Donegal was given a lower allocation than Mayo when the former was admitted to the parish committee scheme in 1903. A similar scheme was established in Cork and Kerry in the same year.[26] The Board recommended that the grants should be operated as prizes rather than as direct grants and it was hoped that local benefactors would volunteer to offer additional prizes. A different constitution was proposed for Donegal parish committees: the new committee would consist of clergymen of all denominations, county and district councillors, landlords or their agents and magistrates and medical doctors residing in the parish. By contrast, the Mayo scheme had six elected representatives instead of magistrates when it was established in 1898.[27] By the time the parish scheme was introduced into Donegal, a new system of local government was in place with the passing of the Local Government Act 1898. The community had elected representatives on Rural District Councils and County Councils and it was believed that this level of representation was sufficient and was working well.The scheme was in existence for a total of fourteen years between 1898 and 1914, with an interruption in 1908 and 1909, when the Board was short of funds. In Donegal however, the parish scheme was in effect in operation for nine years only, due to the delay in introducing the scheme to the county and including a two-year period of interruption. A total of £48,896 was spent by the committees throughout the congested districts of the country and the total value of work completed amounted to £233,870. [28]

PARISH COMMITTEES AND THE HOMES OF DONEGAL (1898-1914)



Taking home the turf, Mamore Gap, Clonmany, 1930s



Inishowen Cottage – visitor, Catherine Beatty & daughter,1940.

SELF-HELP SCHEMES

The parish scheme represented some interesting elements of local democracy and community self-help at a time when other forms of rural development were being introduced such as cooperatives and agricultural banks. It was part of what has been described as "an ambitious programme of rural regeneration" which was taking place in Ireland during this period.[29] In a memorandum to committees, in 1904, the CDB stated that "the engendering of the spirit of self-help is one of the most valuable results it is hoped to see realised".[30] Horace Plunkett, founder of the cooperative movement and a member of the CDB, believed that there was "a new Irish mind" that the government had to take account of in the formation of new policies. State aid had to be administered more democratically in 1899 than in 1891 and paternalism had no place in the new Ireland he envisaged.[31] He also believed that there was a need to "repair the neglect of country life".[32] Canon McFadden, parish priest of Inniskeel, believed that the CDB, its officials and the parish committee provided a better service to the people of his parish than the newly formed Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI), which took over some of the functions of the CDB in relation to agriculture.[33] His comments were a major boost for the parish committee in the Inniskeel parish.

The total expenditure in Donegal was £756 by 31 March 1904[34]. At this time, it was possible to construct a four-roomed, two-storey dwelling house for £150, so the committees made good use of the monies received.[35] There was ample evidence to show that while the grants were relatively small, substantial value was added to the amounts awarded. The introduction of voluntary labour for the construction of houses and road-making and the use of local materials such as sand, gravel and stone which were freely available, helped to maximise the value of the grants. Local quarries were opened all over the county to supply building materials. In 1905, the parish committee in Inniskeel got £75 but the value of the work done was £500.[36] The appearance of the Donegal country-side also changed as whitewashed houses slowly replaced mud cabins and manure pits were replaced by flower gardens or vegetable plots. The CDB could not fund house building projects but ensured that excellent use was made of limited resources.

During the period under review, there was a "revolution" in the provision of rural housing, in the opinion of the English historian, Virginia Crossman.[37] The CDB and the parish committees were not the only government agencies engaged in house construction and improvement. Under the Labourers' Acts, passed between 1883 and 1906, powers to implement housing improvements for agricultural labourers were given to Boards of Guardians, Local Government Boards, Rural District Councils and County Councils. The Local Government Act of 1898 established County Councils and Rural District Councils. The Public Health Acts of 1874 and 1878 gave authority to Poor Law Boards to act as sanitary authorities to enforce basic hygiene standards. The work of the parish committees and the CDB was complemented by Rural District Councils in Donegal; the latter built a total of 1,458 houses in the county between 1898 and 1925.[38] All three agencies were engaged in the transformation of the housing stock in Donegal during the period under review.

In 1899, a new department called the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

was set up. The DATI modelled many of its rural schemes on those run successfully by the CDB. The former had the advantage, however, that it operated on a countrywide basis. At a meeting of the Agriculture Board of the DATI on 25 August 1903, Professor Campbell, assistant secretary of the DATI, proposed that prizes should be awarded for the improvement of rural cottages; awards totalling £5,000 were made for well-kept cottages and small farms, with the emphasis on cleanliness, the cultivation of flowers and vegetables and the removal of manure heaps to a distance from the house.[39] The DATI parish scheme was continued in 1904 and twenty-five counties participated on a country-wide basis.[40] The judges were the instructors employed by the DATI. There was inevitably some friction between the older CDB and the younger DATI but the real beneficiaries were the members of the rural communities which both organisations served.

The over dependence on emergency relief measures during the nineteenth century made some tenants uncomfortable with the concept of receiving aid from the government. Committees won the hearts and minds of the parishioners, however, by introducing a system of prizes which gave the works undertaken a competitive edge. It was also the age of the cooperative and the agricultural bank so the concept of community self-help was taking root. By 1912, all counties except Antrim, Armagh and Carlow were involved in the scheme run by the DATI, which awarded prizes for well-kept cottages and farms.[41]

FANAD AND MEEVAGH

There was widespread support for the committees, especially among parish clergy. Fr. James Gallagher, parish priest of Rathmullan, believed that the awarding of prizes was a stimulus towards self-help. In Fanad peninsula, posters were distributed to advertise grants and prizes. It was estimated that the work completed was twenty-two and a half times the value of the grant. The Killygarvan and Tullyfern Parish Improvement Committee offered thirty-two prizes in total on 18 May 1906. Awards were to be made for concreting floors, boarding ceilings, building piggeries, dairies and fowlhouses and for the best cottage. In October 1906, there was a prize-giving ceremony in Crieve Schoolhouse where flannel, cloth, lace, knitted goods and butter prints were exhibited. One hundred and twenty competitors were involved. Householders were disqualified if manure heaps were still outside the front door and all buildings had to be whitewashed before being considered for a prize.[42]

Fr. James Gavigan, parish priest of Meevagh reported that work to the value of £562.17.0 was completed in his parish by the end of 1905. He described the scheme as "wonderfully successful". [43] Canon Mc Fadden , parish priest of Glenties described the parish committees as "among the best departures of the CDB". [44] The successful operation of the schemes was largely due to the work of the diocesan clergy but the cooperation of tenant farmers and their families was crucial.



Cottages at Glen, Co Donegal, Maurice Canning Wilks, 1910-1984.

DUNGLOE

The parish committees were actively supported by all sections of the community. Rev. S.H. Orr, rector of the Church of Ireland parish of Maghery, Dungloe, gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland on 13 October 1906 in his capacity as chairman of the parish committee. Although the committee had been in existence for only three years, there were up to one hundred and fifty applicants for a share of a grant to the value of £70. The committee was obliged to limit grants to a maximum of £4 per successful applicant. In such cases, the value of work completed amounted to £13, as voluntary labour was available and building material was free of charge locally. No prizes were awarded by this committee. While most parish committees had to deal with demands for grants for house construction and improvements, there was a large number of applicants in this parish seeking assistance with road improvements. In the opinion of Rev. Orr, the committees were doing a better job than the newly established County Council or the Rural District Council.[45]

ANNAGRY AND RANAFAST

The building work undertaken in the parishes was the visible outcome of the work of the parish committees. There was also a health agenda because of the high level of tuberculosis in the county. In 1905, the death rate was 2.5 per 1,000 of the population in Ireland but this was reduced to a level of 1.5 by 1921, as a result of efforts to control the spread of the disease, improvements in housing and better sanitation.[46]One of the leading campaigners in the fight to combat tuberculosis was Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Viceroy. She sent their caravan to Donegal with an exhibition in 1909 which advised people how to fight the disease.[47] (See photo) The important role played by the parish committees in this work was acknowledged by the local nurse in Annagry, Agnes Brady, who believed that the committees had contributed to an improvement in the health of the district in which she worked. Houses had improved ventilation because of larger windows and cattle had been removed from dwelling houses and put into byres. In some districts, however, such as Ranafast and Cruckakeehan, the tradition of keeping livestock in the dwelling house continued, despite the efforts of the parish committees and sanitary officers to have them removed.[48] Medical experts described tuberculosis as a "dwelling house disease" and efforts were made by committees to improve cleanliness. [49]

Consequently, there was a major emphasis on home hygiene. The drinking of raw milk was believed to be responsible for the spread of tuberculosis and parish committees



Fisherman's Cottage, Magheragallon, Maurice Canning Wilks, 1910-1984.

encouraged tenants to build dairies beside their dwelling houses in order to improve hygiene. (See house plan) At a meeting of the Land Committee of the CDB on 24 January 1900, a sum of £100 was allocated for the erection of dairies in Glenswilly and arrangements were made to have "as many dairies erected as possible in the Glenties district"[50]. Home workers were also encouraged to maintain a high standard of cleanliness. Lace schools taught young female workers that their goods would not be saleable if they were soiled or dirty; this was an incentive to improve cleanliness in the home where the lace was manufactured. As tenant farmers became proprietors under the various Land Acts, new houses were built and living standards improved as dairies, byres and fowl houses were constructed

GREENCASTLE

Contrasting images of rural life are to be found in the letters of George Wyndham who was Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1900 to 1905. At one end of the spectrum, parish committees dealt with rural issues at local level. On the other hand, at the highest echelon of government in Ireland, Wyndham gained first-hand experience of housing and social conditions in the congested districts. He first visited Donegal in 1890 as private secretary to Arthur Balfour and returned to the county in 1901 when he held the position of Chief Secretary.[51] On a visit to what he described as a hovel in North Mayo, he made a record of what he saw: "a hand-loom, the pig, the cow and her manger, the donkey, the bed, a rocking chair with child, the hearth and the spinning wheel".[52] By contrast, writing from Greencastle, overlooking Lough Foyle, in Co Donegal, he wrote a poetic description of the Manor House garden, where he was staying: "a little sea-wood of Scotch firs and sycamores; rocks fifty feet high shut it in with a wonderful garden blazing with summer holiday flowers".[53]. There is evidence, however, in his correspondence, that he was concerned about the social and economic conditions of the district:

> *I wish I were an Emperor to do exactly what I please for the people here. But something,somehow shall be done. You can easily see the particular problem from the map. The whole peninsula of Inishowen is congested and the northern part has twenty miles of carting toDerry. We have made a railway to Carndonagh, but the high mountains prevent it fromhelping the thick fringe of the population on the eastern side of Inishowen.*[54]

GLENTIES

Parish committees operated in Donegal as improvement committees before the CDB set up its own parish committee scheme. These were organised by local people who were aware of services being provided by the CDB which could be used for the benefit of the community. On 6 December 1897, Glenties established its own improvement committee which raised funds and awarded prizes for improvements in farm houses and outoffices. It obtained bulls and sows from the CDB in order to improve the strain of livestock. The committee purchased sprayers which farmers could hire to control blight; shelter belts were planted and street crossings were improved. The first cattle show was organised on 16 August 1899.[55] The organisers received financial assistance from the CDB towards the cost of awarding prizes at the show. [56] The committee was also involved in the building of dairies.

After a late start, the parish schemes funded by the CDB were reported to be making good progress in Donegal. By 31 March 1906, 57 new houses were built and 711 homes were repaired in the county. The CDB was delighted with the work of the newly established committees in the county:

> *Very satisfactory progress has been made in most of the parishes under the Donegal scheme. The value of the work done in several of the parishes represents from ten to fourteen times the amount of the grant and in one case in one parish the estimated value of work completed was twenty-two times the amount of the grant.*[57]

Unfortunately, the impressive progress of the parish committees in Donegal received a major setback in 1908 and 1909 when the parish schemes were suspended. Letters of protest were sent to the CDB by parish committees in Inver, Meevagh, Lower Templecrone and Inishkeel and were read at a meeting of the CDB Land Committee on 12 March 1908.[58] The CDB was engaging in cutbacks and agricultural shows had their grants removed. Such shows were very important for parish committees as they afforded farmers an opportunity to learn about developments in farm machinery and to exhibit farm produce. The money allocated was normally used for the awarding of prizes. The Inishowen Agricultural Society Show was one of the events that was refused financial assistance; the show committee wrote to the CDB and expressed regret that its grant, which in 1907 was £30, was withdrawn.[59] Other shows which had grants removed were Ballyshannon and North-West Donegal.[60] The Land Committee cited the shortage of funds as the reason for the withdrawal of the grants. Protests, however, seemed to have had an effect, as the parish committee scheme was re-activated after the two-year suspension and parish committees were able to proceed with their activities once again. The restoration of grants, however, was to be a short-term measure only.

ARDARA

The parish committees were not the sole agents of the CDB working for the improvement of conditions in towns and villages. In the case of Ardara, the CDB awarded a grant of up to £200 for the town water supply and took charge of the Evans's mill and water rights on the Tredennick estate. It is significant that this grant was awarded when the CDB had decommissioned the parish committees citing shortage of funds. At the same time, Henry Doran, Chief Land Inspector of the CDB, successfully carried out negotiations regarding property in the town as can be seen from the resolution below passed at a meeting of the Land Committee of the CDB in 1909:

> *The Board approved of the market house and yard, courthouse, tolls and customs of the fairs and markets of Ardara and the plantations in the Board's hands being handed over, free of cost, to a Town Committee, who will be responsible for the proper management of the fairs and markets and the maintenance of buildings and the proper management of plantations. The Board has approved of his suggestion to cover the space at the rere of the market house with a glass roof at an estimated cost of £250, to be provided by the Industries Branch, for use as a mill for the examination and sale of homespuns and to be handed over subsequently to the Town Committee with the other property.*[61]

For the year ended 31 March 1915, thirty-four parishes in Donegal were in receipt of £2,351 under the scheme. Of the nine counties eligible for grants, Donegal committees received the largest amounts.

Table 1. Amount of grant issued by the CDB under the Parish Committee Scheme

for the year ended 31 March 1915.
BPP, CDB, *Twenty-third Report,* Cd. 8076, Appendix XX, 1915, p.91.

By the close of 1914, the work of the parish committees came to an end and the death knell was sounded at a meeting of the CDB on 17 November 1914. The resolution read:

> *The Board reluctantly decided, owing to financial reasons, to suspend the operation of their parish committee schemes and also the loan scheme for house improvement for tenant purchasers.*

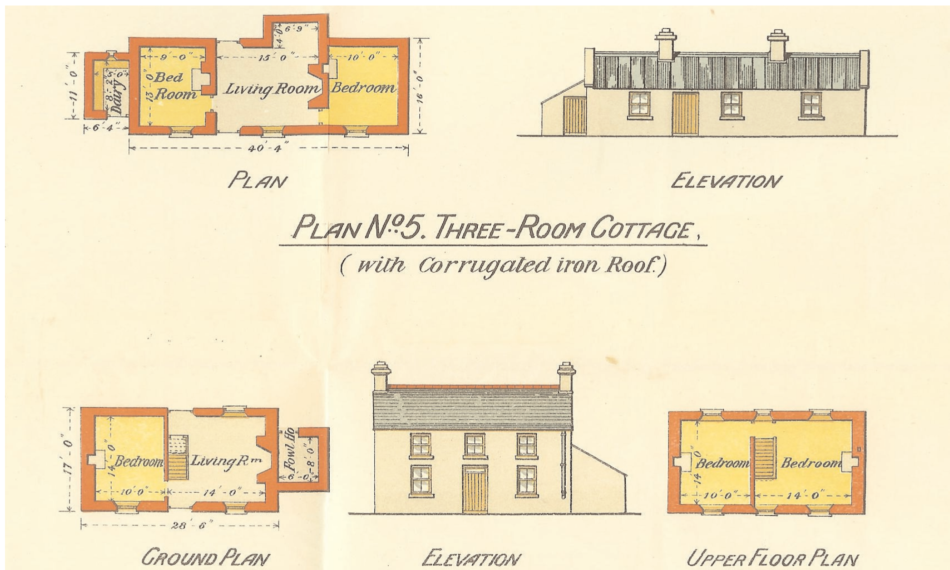
The decision was a bitter blow to the parish committees but was not unexpected. The CDB was in existence for twenty-three years and new priorities were emerging. It was now engaged in investing its resources in the purchase of estates and in the resettlement of tenants. The new schemes were placing a great strain on its resources, while the DATI were operating many of the programmes which once were under the control of the CDB. With the advent of war, there was inevitably a reduction in the activities undertaken by the CDB. By modern standards, the financial investment in the parish committees was small but in the context of the period, it was significant. There was a general improvement in the appearance of the countryside as new white - washed houses with flower gardens and vegetable plots were seen in every parish. People became more aware of the importance of hygiene and cleanliness in the home and facilities were also greatly improved for livestock. The committees made an impact because communities believed in the concept of self-help and moved away from dependence on outdoor relief and emergency measures. In total, the CDB built 1,116 houses under the parish committee scheme in thecongested districts of Ireland and repairs were carried out on 28,267 dwellings. [62]

Name of parish	**Amount of grant**
Ardara	£150.
Aughnish and Aughaninshin	£7.1.6
Clonca	£70
Clondahorkey	£45
Clondavaddog	£110
Clonmany	£130
Conwal and Leck	£67.10.0
Culdaff	£37.10.0
Desertegney and Fahan Lower	£95. 3.6
Donagh	£37.10.0
Donaghmore	£41.2.6
Drimholme	£22.0.0
Gartan and Termon	£39.14.6
Glencolmcille	£36.8.0
Iniskeel	£195
Inismacsaint	£19
Inver	£100
Kilbarron	£47.10
Kilcar	£29.6.5
Kilmacrenan	£39.9.7
Killybegs and Killaghtee	£103.10.6
Killygarvan and Tullyfern	£42.10.0
Killymard	£55.0.0
Kiltyvogue	£50
Lettermaaward and Templecrone Upr.	£90
Meevagh	£125
Moville Lower	£68.15.6
Moville Upper and Iskaheen	£42.10.0
Pettigo	£55
Raphoe	£37.16.10
Stranorlar	£32 .18
Tawnawilly	£42.10
Templecrone Lower	£106.9
Tullabegley, Raymunterdoney and Tory	£180.

One of the strongest critics of the committees was the polemicist and parliamentarian, Frank Hugh O'Donnell. He criticised Fr. Mc Fadden's work on the Glenties parish committee which he described as "[irrigating] the locality with the generous stream of public bounty at the expense of the taxpayers". The committees were accused of doing the work which sanitary officers were employed to do.[63] There was criticism of the appearance of the new houses, which many residents regarded as unattractive and unimaginative. Improvements carried out under the parish committee scheme were of a basic nature and did not extend to a piped water supply. Some CDB members expressed concern about the accuracy of records and accounting procedures in parish committees, but no accusations were made against individual committee members.

A ROMANTIC VIEW

Such criticisms were regarded as minor when compared with the scale of the work undertaken by the committees in county Donegal over a sixteen year period. An American journalist, Hugh Sutherland, who reported on congested districts for *The North American* newspaper in Philadelphia, admired the "good houses standing square and trim in the sun".[64] While the parish committees and the CDB cannot take sole credit for the changes in the standards of rural housing, sanitation, cleanliness and general farm improvements, they did pioneering work with the resources at their disposal while at the same time espousing and promoting the concept of self-help that was taking root in rural communities at this time. Within a period of two decades, the CDB and the parish committees, together with other government bodies, helped to make Donegal a cleaner and healthier place in which to live.



House Plans supplied by the Estates Department of the Congested Districts Board, drawn by Henry Doran, Chief Land Inspector in 1899 and revised in 1903.

Hugh Sutherland's report on living conditions was very different from what George Wyndham observed a few years earlier:

> *We went into a house, passing the concrete chicken house against the outside of the chimney, so that the fowls have the benefit of warmth in the winter. At one side of the back entrance was a small room used as a dairy. We entered the main living room, kitchen and dining room in one. It was lighted by a large window. The concrete floor was spotlessly clean and the room held substantial furniture. On a dresser against the wall were dishes and a gleaming array of pots and pans. There was no range but in the big fireplace a pile of turf glowed, ample for giving warmth and cooking. In a wooden cradle of the old-fashioned "ark" shape, a baby slept peacefully, a cat curled up at its feet. A tall, shy girl, bare footed, was drying dishes. The three other children played on the floor.* [65]

PARISH COMMITTEES AND THE HOMES OF DONEGAL (1898-1914)

CONCLUSION

In terms of financial expenditure and house construction, the CDB and the parish committees made a useful contribution to the improvement of living conditions in Donegal. Their most significant contribution was in the empowerment of local communities, following long periods of dependence on emergency relief aid throughout the nineteenth century. The presence of county councillors and rural district councillors on parish committees provided a direct link between the local community and the newly established Rural District Councils and County Councils.

The emphasis on sanitation was part of the work of the parish committees from the beginning. The process of removing livestock from dwelling houses and the clearance of manure heaps from proximity to living areas was accelerated by the parish committees, although some households refused to cooperate. The construction of dairies, outoffices and fowlhouses was part of the campaign to improve hygiene and reduce the incidence of infectious diseases. Under the Public Health Acts, sanitary officers were employed to improve sanitation and hygiene but there was general public disquiet about their failure to execute improvements. The parish committees felt obliged to take action but they were heavily criticised for doing so. Contemporary English commentators described this aspect of the work of the parish committees as a waste of public funds and a duplication of resources.[66] *The Final Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion* recommended that such work such be the responsibility of sanitary officers.[67] The view of the Royal Commission appeared to criticise the parish committees for doing the work of sanitary officers, but several witnesses who appeared before the Commission praised the parish committees for making a success of a programme that sanitary officers neglected.

The parish committees undertook a wide range of activities, apart from house construction and improvement. In Termon and Gartan, the committee concentrated on drainage rather than housing.[68] In all districts, fencing was encouraged and incentives were given for growing vegetables and flowers. Seeds were provided and machinery was available on loan. Tree planting was promoted through a shelter belt scheme and farm roads were constructed thus opening up lands that were inaccessible.

The work of the parish committees was regarded as a role model by other government bodies such as the DATI, which adopted several programmes such as the house improvement scheme. Clergy played a major role on all committees and usually occupied the position of Chairperson or Secretary. The parish committees also provided leadership training for tenant farmers who were involved in the setting up of cooperatives and village banks. At a community level, they provided an integrated forum where the landlord or his agent, the tenant farmer and clergy of all denominations could work on local issues under the umbrella of a central agency.

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4 Fox, *Tory Island*, p.1

5 Rev Denis Gildea, *Mother Mary Arsenius of Foxford,* (Dublin, 1936), p.86

6 British Parliamentary Papers (BPP), CDB, *Tenth Report*, Cd. 681, 1901, p. 46, British Library, London.

7 Gildea, *Mother Mary Arsenius of Foxford,* p. 116

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11 Pádraig Ó Baoill, "Patrick Cardinal O'Donnell, his role and influence in Irish society, with particular reference to County Donegal, 1888-1927", (Ph.D., University of Ulster, 2003) p. 78

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43 BPP, RCCI, *Appendix to the Second Report*, Evidence of Fr. James Gavigan, 7890, p. 85

44 BPP, RCCI, *Appendix to the Second Report,* Evidence of Canon McFadden, 8051, p. 92.

45 BPP, RCCI, *Appendix to the Second Report*, Minutes of Evidence, Rev. S.H.Orr, Maghery, 9251-9270, pp. 131-2

46 Lord and Lady Aberdeen, *We Twa, Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen,* (London, 1925). pp. 276-277

47 Maureen Keane, *Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen in Ireland*, (Newtownards, 1999) p.137. The caravan carried slogans in Irish and English encouraging people to fight tuberculosis. An Irish speaker accompanied the exhibition and gave lectures in Irish. The caravan was destroyed by fire in Lifford on March 15, 1909.

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55 History of Glenties Improvement Committee, 1897-1935, Minutes of Meetings, typed manuscript, St.Connell's Museum, Glenties. No records of the minutes of the parish committee scheme are available for other parishes.

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[63] Frank Hugh O'Donnell, *Political Priests and Irish Ruin,* (London, 1910) p. 34.
[64] Hugh Sutherland, *Ireland Yesterday and Today,* (Philadelphia, 1909), p.147
[65] Sutherland, Ireland, p. 151
[66] G. Locker Lampson, *A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century,* (London, 1908) p. 467
[67] BPP, RCCI, *Final Report*, Cd. 4097, 1908, pp.30-32
[68] BPP, RCCI, *Appendix to the Second Report*, Minutes of Evidence, Evidence of Hugh McClafferty, 8480-8483, p. 106

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Photos/house plans – Editor, Clive Evans (Morton photo).

PRIVATE BOYLE'S LETTER

Rev. Dr. John J. Silke

INTRODUCTION

In our work of cataloguing the Diocesan Archives, Mrs. Moira Hughes and I have come across the following letter, which is offered here as evidence of one soldier's views of World War 1, at least at a particular period of that war. A brief word of commentary:

The Home Rule Bill was finally enacted in September 1914. Already, John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, in the House of Commons, on 3 August 1914 pledged Ireland's support for the Allied war effort. This pledge he repeated at Wooden Bridge, Co. Wicklow on September 20, when he urged his followers to volunteer for the British army. This, as is well-known, became a crucial issue among Irish nationalists. By the first week of September 1914, the German General Moltke's right wing, in accordance with the plan of his predecessor, Schlieffen, had reached the Marne river in France. In Belgium, Liege had bravely resisted the German advance but after bombardment by mammoth guns and Zeppelins had yielded on August 16. Von Kluck with the First German Army occupied Brussels on August 20. Although the Hague Convention had outlawed collective responsibility, von Kluck and von Hausen, commanding the third German Army ignored this and shot many civilians, burgomasters, mayors, priests and so on, including Nurse Cavell, the heroic head of a hospital. The sudden German attack had found many Belgian soldiers without uniforms, so they fought in civilian garb. The Germans, exasperated because of the Belgian resistance to their advance, shot any civilians captured as franc-tireurs (roughly, snipers). Among the German atrocities were the burning of Louvain, in which the University's famous and irreplaceable library perished, and the partial destruction of Rheims cathedral. Propaganda now acquired a new and sinister meaning. All the governments set up "propaganda" offices and all told lies , as they did in World War 1. Pte. Boyle was correct in observing that other governments were guilty of criminal acts and that not all Germans committed atrocities; but the terrorism in Belgium could not be defended., especially as the policy of reprisals had been prepared beforehand. Tales of Hun and Uhlan atrocities rang around the world, something Boyle was concerned (and to an extent correctly) to counteract.

The French General Joffre had meanwhile established his staff headquarters (CQG) at Vitry, half way between Paris and Nancy, later moving to Chatillon-sur-Seine. The French were joined by a British Expeditionary Force, (BEF) a volunteer army, 80,000 strong of which Private Boyle was one. It was under the command of Sir John French. The BEF had a part in the (first) Battle of the Marne (6-10 September, 1914), when Joffre halted the German advance, a fact decisive for the outcome of the war. Unfortunately, it determined that this war would be long drawn-out, with horrendous slaughter of volunteers, conscripts and civilians.

Private Boyle might not be highly educated but he was no fool. He was of course correct to condemn the war and its slaughter. A notable period without war, the "Great Peace", 1878-1914, had left Europe unprepared for conflict, which some said was now impossible, which others welcomed (we can think of D'Annunzio and Pearse among them), while others were resigned to its inevitability. In any case there followed the "Great War", which cost an estimated 37.5 million casualties, dead, wounded, (many maimed for life) and missing. As to Pope Benedict XV, the "pope of peace", whose name the present pope has appropriately taken, he was elected on 3 September 1914, a month and a day after Britain declared war on Germany. His first encyclical in November, Ad Beatissimi, was an appeal for peace (and notably against greed as the goal of life). Unfortunately, the Powers would not listen. In his addresses and allocutions, as for instance in Christmas 1914 when, (wearing the camauro, the informal red cap which Popes John XX111 and Benedict XV1 have again favoured), he spoke to the cardinals and others, he kept reiterating that war was the great scourge. On 24 May 1914 Italy entered the war and Benedict spoke with anguish of the extension of the war to his beloved Italy (Nostra diletta Italia). He and Cardinal Pacelli would of course in 1917 put forward the famous peace plan. How many volunteers, never mind conscripts, on all sides, thought as Private Boyle did?

The soldier son of Ardara parents clearly identifies himself as Irish. The two letters are in pencil. His bracketing of words is the equivalent of italicising. No attempt has been made to correct his spelling. Towards the end of [p.6] he draws a line and then concludes: "This statement is quite correct and you are at liberty to use it as you please".



Memorial to Scottish Rifles, Glasgow.

THE LETTER

Nigg Camp,
6 June 1916
Scottish Rifles.

[p.1]

Dear Rev Bishop,

I wish to express my estimation as regards this out ragous slaughter of mankind (war). We hope God will bring to account they Heads of Nations who were the Cause of this terrible calamity. I am an expeditionary Force man and has fought at the Battle of the (Marne) Lavantay) and several other engagements, and is now home for a few weeks rest.

The Germans were reported for blowing down (Churches) in Belgium but as far as I could see there, the Belgians and (French) were to blame. The Belgium used the towers of churches for observation posts and Machine guns.

[p.2] The French did use the churches for the same purpose, and for storing ammunition.

So you see the Germans could not possibly avoid, to their own advantages the destruction of the churches, which were used by the French and Belgians for war purposes. Would England spare churches suppose she entered German Territory, the English were always to cunning for the good and Faithfull. (Irish men). They joined paper talk for to get the sympathy of RC churches throughout the world. There are good and bad men in every Nation through out the world. I have seen Germans venerate the statues of Religion and I have seen them dead with the cross of our Lord in their hands.

[p.3] Dear Rev Bishop,

If you would see the Irish Regiments fitting out theire ['i' stroked out] for their promised scrap of paper of (Home Rule) If they Germans occupy ['nd' stroked out] well fortified position the Generals command will be bring up and Irish Regiment it is the greatest sin in history to see those brave sons of Erin rushing to their doom amid shot and shell.

I am an Irishman of true Blood and I don't like promises made by underminded men who are ['tring' stroked out] trying to lead Ireland to destruction.

It was for the purpose to ruin our nation that the Calition Government was brought about espicialy the Inclusion of Sir Edward Carson as Attorney

[p.4] General and chief executive law officer of the Defence of the Acts. This is grave Insult to our Nationalist Members of Parliament. John Redmond not axcepting a place in the New Cabinet, I think he acted on a wise scale but it is difficult to solve. Members of parliament when war was declared, we must abandon Home Rule to the war is over then comes Sir Edward Carsons admendment ['Biff' scored out] Bill I am

afraid that after the war that it will only be Home Rule by name.

our Members are placed in a very difficult position

Continued
.

[p.5]
A British Soldiers life
Dear Rev Sir,

A Soldiers life in the B. army at present is a misery they officers expresses themselves in a rude manner ttowards their men. I have seen [‘a’ scored out] one of our officers in France shoot some of our men at day break for very simple reasons. I have seen an officer in our regiment shoot an Irish man of 18 years whose nerves gave way and was not able to cross the parpet.

I was on they act of shooting him but I never got the chance, some Irish men in our regiment serendered to the Germans on account of our bad officers.

[p.6] Reports in our papers regarding Germans food supply is absolutely false their men as far as I have seen were well clothed and fed. Of course I must admit that I have not seen all they diffirent German Regiments I only speak of what I have seen.

Irish men are [‘o’ scored out] very foolish for been deceived by Britian’s smooth policy of Irelands future and Home Rule) our men are beginning to see some of their mistakes now

----

This statement is quite correct and you are at liberty to use it as you please

[p.7]

Conscription is a curse hanging upon the future of our country I trust in Lord that it will never be forsed upon our country, it will bring ruin on the Future of ours as an (Nation).

The Irish nation has given it share in this war, let Brittian take the men who are walking about in London and other large cities over (England) & (Scotland), who have been fed and kept on the produce of the poor Irish Farmer.

We were always a helping hand towards England whether we will reap any
[p.8] Future benfits or not I cannot tell but we must wait and see. England plotted this war but it arose between two other nations, and Brittain declared war on Germany for to save herself in comming years. She lent Italy millions of money to come in on her side.

I am very much troubled about out (Holy) Father (The Pope) who is the grreat peace

maker of the world he did not like Italys Intervention in the conflict our (Holy Father) deserves to be honoured by all nations (Holy Mother of God end this war soon.

[P.S. (on p.7) parents belong to the parish of Ardara but came to Scotland years ago].
[P.S. (on p.7) going to France in a few days].

Pte. J. Boyle (12589) Rosshire
Scottish Rifles,
Nigg Camp,
Scotland.

Very Rev. Dr. John J. Silke, Archivist of the Diocese of Raphoe, is the author of the introduction to this article. He has written extensively on Irish and European history, including *Kinsale, The Spanish Intervention in Ireland at the end of the Elizabethan Wars* (1970).

B.W.Tuchman, *The guns of August* (London, 1962), 198-9, 256-7; F. Gilbert *The end of the European era, 1890 to the present* (New York 1970), p.115.

RAILWAYS IN DONEGAL AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Leonard Roarty

In contrast to the Donegal of today, the Donegal of the first half of the 20th century was well served by an extensive railway system – two narrow gauge railways, the County Donegal Railway and the Londonderry & Lough Swilly Railway. Between them they served the whole county except Bundoran, which was served by the GNR. They played a varied and all-important role in the commercial and social life of the county and also underpinned the British administration both civil and military. Britain's dominance in Ireland depended in large measure on the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and its network of informers. The RIC was a semi-military police force with a barracks in almost every hamlet in Ireland. This was also the situation in Donegal in 1918 and there were also military barracks located strategically throughout the county. There were also naval facilities and shore batteries all conveying the invincibility of an empire on whose colonies the sun never set. In 1918 the road system throughout the county was very inadequate and where there were roads they were rutted and unsuitable for mechanised transport. Apart from the railways, transport and communication had advanced little from the horse transport era. Another problem was the inaccessibility of much of the mountainous regions.

It is against such a background that the importance of an extensive rail network in the county can be appreciated particularly in the maintenance of British rule in Ireland. The railways served for the efficient and effective transportation of soldiers and police and the reliable supply of munitions, materials, military rations, dispatches and postal communications. From day one of the outbreak of the War of Independence the IRA recognised the importance of the railways to the British military and civil administration. The volunteers set out to disrupt in every way possible, the British administration and a key element in their plans were the railways. In Donegal the IRA's objectives in particular in the relation to the railways were to:

I. *Curtail or stop troop movement by train.*
II. *Cut off military and other supplies necessary for the army and RIC to maintain a presence throughout the county.*
III. *Gather intelligence by raiding mail trains. Correspondence addressed to members of the British forces, RIC, or suspects was opened and scrutinised.*
IV *Implement the "Belfast Boycott" of British goods.*



Railway linesmen,Railway Arch (Dry Arch), Letterkenny

AMBUSH OF TROOP TRAIN AT MEENBANAD JANUARY 1921

An IRA intelligence officer based in Derry socialised in a hotel frequented by British Army officers and learned from one that he was to travel on a troop train to Burtonport. The intelligence officer sent two volunteers on bicycles to Manorcunningham; failing to get relief volunteers, they continued to Letterkenny and met an IRA officer. He travelled with the news by motorbike to Creeslough from where another volunteer travelled by car to Dungloe with the information to the IRA officer-in-charge. Locally the volunteers were alerted by railway employees (volunteers) who reported that a train was on the way to Burtonport to collect fish. No fish were landed in Burtonport in January. Plans were made immediately for an ambush. The site selected was about one mile from Meenbanad station where the line ran between two high embankments. The attacking party was positioned on both sides of the railway positions, so that they would avoid crossfire. They decided to block the rail with boulders rather than tear up the track (so as to avoid death to civilians and railway employees) because they were unable to obtain confirmation that troops were on board. (Telegraph lines were down). This ambush is a good example of the primitive communication available to the IRA at the time and the failure in other train ambushes to plan in advance. Scouts were placed to signal in advance that troops were aboard. The signal was given by an exploding had grenade.

Up to thirty volunteers took part in the ambush. When the train crashed into the boulders, the volunteers commenced firing and lobbed hand grenades into the train. This continued for about twenty minutes until soldiers were seen crawling on both sides of the track and a whistle was then sounded for the volunteers to be withdrawn. The enemy took aim with a Lewis machine gun, which was mounted on the engine and wasn't fired during the attack. The volunteers retreated without any casualties in a follow-up operation. The British arrested one unarmed volunteer who had hidden his rifle. He was a Derry man and

as he couldn't be connected with the ambush he was taken in Derry and released. The volunteers couldn't confirm the number of British casualties but it was reported that up to 12 were killed and 50 injured. An interesting sequel occurred the following year. After the truce, a young man staying in Buncrana stated that he lost an arm in the Meenbanad ambush and that up to fifty soldiers were injured.

There were other occasions when the IRA ambushed troop trains. A few days after the Meenbanad ambush, British troops arrived in the Burtonport area in great strength. This concentration of British Forces continued in the area until 24 January 1921 when they were withdrawn to Derry. The train carrying the last detachment of troops from Burtonport to Derry was ambushed at Crolly. The train continued and wasn't stopped. On 7 February 1921 volunteers removed portion of the railway line at Drumacart Creeslough and succeeded in derailing a troop train. Fifteen British troops were injured. Around Easter 1921 a troop train returning from Burtonport crashed into boulders at Creeslough placed by volunteers and was derailed. The volunteers had not sufficient men or guns to attack the train. The British forces in Ballybofey had a railway locomotive and tender fitted with armour plating making it safer to travel. Local volunteers blew up the locomotive in its shed at the station.

In July 1920 the IRA instructed railway drivers to refuse to drive trains with British forces on board or trains carrying munitions. Although this directive was not 100% successful in Donegal it nevertheless caused considerable disruption as many train drivers refused to drive troop trains. The railway company offered incentives to employers to continue working on troop trains with limited success. In May 1921 a large contingent of British troops was brought to Burtonport from Derry by sea probably because of the dangers of travelling by train and the difficulty in getting drivers to man the trains and also because of road inaccessibility.

BELFAST BOYCOTT

The boycott was a measure ordered by the Dáil in 1920 in an attempt to stop the attacks on Northern Irish Catholics (in the so-called "Belfast Pogrom"). It also highlighted the exclusion of Catholics from factories and shipyards and to demonstrate the economic consequences of partition. Business with northern banks and insurance companies was affected and the importation of goods was effectively prohibited with embargoes placed on some Protestant businesses in border counties. Numerous raids were made on railway trains and railway stations to confiscate or otherwise destroy Belfast goods. Commercial travellers had their order books confiscated and destroyed.

An important source of intelligence to the IRA was the mailbags being transported by train to the post offices. Raids on mail trains were carried out throughout the county on an ongoing basis. Mail addressed to the British establishment and to suspects was opened. Afterwards civilian mail was forwarded by the IRA to the post offices. The interception of mail proved to be a valuable source of intelligence on informers. Letters from informers to the British were intercepted with serious consequences for the informers. These were only some of the many incidents that happened on the railways. All aimed at making British military occupation impossible. Throughout 1920 and up until the truce in

July 1921, the IRA held up trains, derailed trains, tore up sections of track, cut down telegraph poles, destroyed telegraphic equipment and blocked rail lines to make the railways useless to the British war effort. This article on the railways records an important part of the Donegal story.

Tipperary has claimed the first action in the War of Independence but in January 1918 the IRA in Meenbanad Dungloe successfully rescued two British army deserters from the RIC escort that was taking them by train to Derry. Truly it could be said that this was the first action (although there were no casualties) in the War of Independence.

In the mid-1950s, Eamon De Valera organised the compilation of personal statements from the IRA volunteers in the War of Independence. The original statements were lodged in the military archives in Cathal Brugha barracks, Dublin with an embargo of fifty years on their publication. The Department of Defence is now making these statements available. Twenty-eight veterans from Donegal recorded their fight for Irish freedom; obviously there were many more than 28 active IRA men in Donegal. Information is based on Bureau of Military History documents. Photocopies of statements are available for consultation in the County Library in Letterkenny.

Leonard Roarty is a retired civil servant and an enthusiastic amateur historian. He has been a member of the executive committee of the Donegal Historical Society and has written a history of his own place, "The Lagan Valley from earliest times" in *Donegal Annual (1986)*

Photo – Author. Two railway linesmen are pictured at the Railway Arch, (Dry Arch) Letterkenny. This memorial is of particular interest to the author as his grandfather was a linesman with the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway.

BISHOP JOHN KEYS O'DOHERTY 1889-1907

Rev. Bernard J Canning

O'Doherty is an example of a surname in which the resumption of its prefix "O" in the twentieth century has been very marked. Comparing the statistics of 1890 with 1955, of 465 births registered, only eight (or 2%) were O'Doherty. At the present time it is thought that the proportion is approximately 50% suggesting that Doherty and O'Doherty are virtually equal.[1] O'Doherty originated in the barony of Raphoe. The O'Doherty chiefs extended their territory elsewhere until some of them became Lords of Inishowen in the fourteenth century. The O'Doherty/Doherty name is now said to be among the twenty commonest names in Ireland today.[2]

The Diocese of Derry from 1744 to the present time had 20 priests bearing the name Doherty and 38 O'Doherty, a total of 58.[3] One of the 38 O'Dohertys was John Keys O'Doherty who was born in Derry on 25 September 1833. Alfred Nobel and Blessed Frederick Ozanam were born in the same year. The latter was an Italian-born professor, lawyer and judge who founded the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris which has spread throughout the world.[4]John Keys O'Doherty was baptised in St Columba's Church, Long Tower, Derry. Baptismal registers of the Long Tower show gaps for the period 1826-1836 except for two baptismal entries in May 1833.[5]Before making his Confirmation, his baptism was proven for John Keys O'Doherty. His acceptance at Maynooth also required proof of baptism. A near contemporary of O'Doherty, Patrick Fallon, future and last Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora (1853-1879) was baptised conditionally on going to Maynooth 'as proof was not available for what was his first baptism.'[6] His predecessor, Edmund French who became bishop in 1853, was baptised in the Protestant faith, then became a Catholic and was baptised sub conditione again on entering the Catholic Church. He was given conditional baptism before he died.

POPULATION OF DERRY – DONEGAL

The population of Derry City was estimated at 9,313 in 1821, rising to 10,130 by 1831, to 15,196 in 1841.[7]The 1841 Census, when John Keys O'Doherty was eight years old, showed the Rural District had 95,685 males and 101,937 females (total: 197,622) and the Civic District had 11,140 males and 13,412 females (total: 24,552). Donegal had 142,773 males and 147,249 females and the Civic District 3,048 males and 3, 378 females a total 296,448. In 1851 Derry Rural District had 79,050 males compared with 95,685 in 1841 showing a decrease of 16,635; Derry Civic District had 14,045 males and 15,609 females showing a decrease of 13.57% compared with 1841.[8]By 1851 the population of Derry rose to 19,883.[9]The Famine Years 1847-1849 brought many people, especially from Donegal to Derry. Once more Derry was a haven for settlers in Ulster as in the 17th century when many sought refuge at the time of the Siege of Derry. By 1700, with a population of

BISHOP JOHN KEYS O'DONHERTY 1889 - 1907

2,000, Derry was the largest town in the nine counties of Ulster and was the fifth largest town in Ireland after Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Galway.[10]
The O'Doherty home may have been in Braehead where strong walls of an old disused house are still standing. The McKay family bought the house from the O'Doherty family. Often place-names give a clue about functions of a place or area in ancient times but the name Termonbacca, while it explains much about the area, still invites questions. The Irish word *Tearmann* means a sanctuary, a sacred place, a place of security and safety. The word may also suggest that there was a church in the area.[11] It is possible that there was a small church in the area linked with a relatively nearby St Columba's Abbey Church of the Long Tower. However, church lands having a sanctuary on them were clearly called termons distinguishing them from other lands. In 1854, when John Keys O'Doherty was twenty-one, Termonabacca was said to have covered four hundred and sixty-eight acres and seventeen perches.[12] It is a townland one mile from Derry City and overlooking the River Foyle, described by Cecil Frances Alexander in her poem on St Columba as the 'Foyle, his oak-crowned river'.[13]Play has been made on Termonbacca from its early existence and possible religious setting being a place of peace.

EDUCATION

Prmary education was undertaken by John Keys O'Doherty at neighbouring schools of Molenan and Carrigans, Co Donegal.[14]Carrigans had its own Orange Hall and there is no Catholic church in Molenan and Carrigans. A small school had been established in a cabin in Molenan in 1816. In that school attended by John Keys O'Doherty provision was made for each denomination. William P. Millar, a member of the Church of Ireland, had charge of sixty-nine children who belonged to the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church, the Catholic Church and other denominations. James Magennis, a Catholic teacher, taught thirty-one children, of whom fourteen were Presbyterian and seventeen Catholic. By 1865 children were attending the new school in Molenan.[15]Carrigans itself has its own Church of Ireland[16] and Catholics worshipped in St Johnston.[17] A Catholic school was opened at Molenan early in 1826 about the same time as St Columba's School was opened in the Long Tower churchyard. The first railway system in Ireland was opened in 1834 linking Dublin with Dun Laoghaire (then known as Kingstown), a six mile journey, by the Dublin and Kingston Railway.[18] The Great Northern Railway (Ireland) came into existence in 1876[19] linking Derry with Dublin and Belfast. It was a railway used by John Keys O'Doherty on his way to Maynooth. His home in Termonbacca overlooked the railway with its rail track on the bank of the Foyle. Further from his home was the Londonderry & Lough Swilly Railway. On May 22, 1899, the first sod for the Carndonagh to Buncrana line was cut by Lady Betty Balfour.[20] The Catholic community of Derry had misgivings about the name of the railway, objecting to 'Londonderry' on the grounds that the railway itself greatly depended on Catholic patronage and support in Derry and Inishowen. Invariably it was referred to the Swilly Railway.

The circumstances of the Catholic church in early mid-nineteenth century Ulster cannot be described as propitious. The area was slow in recovering from the effects of the Penal Laws.[21]Churches were very limited and unable to meet the demands of the people. Great poverty prevailed in Derry in the aftermath of the Great Famine (1847-1849). Religious instruction and catechesis were at a low ebb. The provision of education facilities was an

objective of Bishop Francis Kelly (1849-1889). He built St Eugene's Cathedral in 1873 at a cost of £40,000.[22]It was later completed by Bishop John Keys O'Doherty with belfry, bells, spire and stained glass windows. He built St. Columb's College, Derry 1877.[23]The new senior wing, chapel, museum and library were later added by Bishop John Keys O'Doherty and he was responsible for the construction of twenty churches throughout Derry Diocese.[24]Despite poverty and other hardships Bishop John Keys O'Doherty in his Ad Limina report on November 4, 1895 stated: 'Churches and schools are being built everywhere.'[25]

What was previously the King's Arms Hotel in Pump Street, Derry, became a residence for Bishop Edward Maginn (1845-1849). It was then a junior seminary where John Keys O'Doherty pursued his secondary education; later he attended Brow of the Hill and finally St. Columb's College. Previously he was taught in Kelly's Private School, Derry, Samuel McQuilkin's Classical School, Mall Wall, Derry and the Campbell School, Clonmany.[26]Bishop Francis Kelly (1849-1889) accepted him for the Diocese of Derry and sent him to St Patrick's College, Maynooth. He was ordained priest in St Columba's Church, Long Tower on August 4, 1861, by Bishop Francis Kelly. He was CC at Carndonagh (1861-1863), Malin (1863-1865), Ardstraw East (1865-1870), Adm. Ardstraw East (1870-1890).[27]

BISHOP OF DERRY

Following the death of Bishop Francis Kelly on September 1, 1889 Archbishop---afterwards Cardinal---Michael Logue of Armagh convened a meeting of the parish priests of Derry to submit candidates to the Holy See to succeed him in the Diocese of Derry. John Keys O'Doherty was one of the names suggested. The Papal Brief of Leo XIII, dated 27 December 1889 named John Keys O'Doherty[28] to the See of Derry. He was appointed Bishop of Derry on December 28, 1889[29]. He was ordained Bishop of Derry on March 2, 1890[30] in St Eugene's Cathedral, Derry, in the first-ever ceremony there. The ordaining Prelate was Archbishop Michael Logue with co-consecrators Bishop Thomas Nulty of Meath and Bishop James Donnelly of Clogher. Bishop Patrick O'Donnell of Raphoe gave the homily: "The Church has prayed today that Divine grace may be ever your [John Keys O'Doherty's] strength. St Columba, St Mura of Fahan, and St Carneach of Clonleigh and a host of others, join your patron, St Eugene today in supplicating before the Throne of Mercy, that a ministry for which long experience on the mission, careful study, varied learning and attainment, and, crowning all, an exemplary life, give such splendid promise, may be rich in blessings."[31] Bishop John Keys O'Doherty was the first native of Derry City to be ordained Bishop of Derry and to date, he is still the only such Bishop. This was because of the great poverty of the people of Derry and the limitation of secondary education until the Labour Government of 1945 provided partial free secondary education in Northern Ireland.

John Keys is the second O'Doherty to be Bishop of Derry. The first was Eoghan

O'Dochartaigh, born in Inishowen, a member of the Augustinian Order; the abbot of Dubhregles, Derry, was provided to the see of Derry in June 25, 1554 and was Bishop of Derry from 1554 to 1569.[32]His administration of the diocese saw the completion of St Eugene's Cathedral with the addition of the spire, a belfry and stained glass windows,[33] the division of the City of Derry as the Parish of Templemore into two parts,[34] re-organisation of parish boundaries in various deaneries,[35] new wing, chapel, museum, library, at St Columb's College;[36] new churches were opened including Sacred Heart Plumbridge (1892),[37] Immaculate Conception, Strabane (1895),[38] St Mary's Aughabrack (1897),[39] Our Lady of the Assumption Aghadowey (1898),[40] St Patrick's, Gortin (1898),[41] Sacred Heart Omagh (1899),[42] St Eugene's Moneyneena (Ballinascreen) (1902),[43]St Matthew's Drumsurn (Dungiven) (1902).[44] There was also the foundation of the Poor Sisters of Nazareth, Bishop Street, Derry March 2, 1892,[45]and celebrations marking the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the death of St Columba.[46]On his death on February 25, 1907 The Glasgow Observer noted: "His life was one of piety and great usefulness to his people."

This article on Bishop John Keys O'Doherty 1889-1907 is part of a major biography to be published shortly on the centenary of his death in 2007

Rev Bernard J Canning is a native of the Parish of Templemore (Cathedral) Derry. He attended St Columb's College, Derry and St Kieran's College, Kilkenny. He was ordained priest for Diocese of Paisley by Bishop Neil Farren of Derry in St Columb's College, Derry. June 3, 1956; his literary work includes *Irish-born Secular Priests in Scotland 1829-1979, (1979); By Columb's Footsteps Trod---the Long Tower's Holy Dead 1784-1984 (1984); Bishops of Ireland 1870-1887* (1988) and *The Poor Sisters of Nazareth & Derry 1892-1992* (1992)

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2 Brian de Breffny: *Irish Family Names* 91 (Strawberry Hill Press Ltd 24 Walpole Rd Twickenham ,
3 Middlesex Tw2 5SN 19812
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4 John J. Delaney and James E. Tobin, *Dictionary of Catholic Biography*, 887, (London, 1961).
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7 Census of Irland 1841 358 (Dublin 1846)
8 ibid 1851 (Dublin 1856)
9 ibid 1851 pt 1, iii, 248
10 Brian Mitchell: *The Making of Derry --- An Economic History* 19 (Genealogy Centre of Derry 1992)
11 Vera McFadden: *Termonbacca --- The Other Sanctuary*, 2 (Kolbe Press 2001)
12 Grfftith's Valuation of 1854
13 'St Columba' as in *Church of Ireland Hymnal* 202 (OUP 1960, 1987)
14 Carrigans is part of the Killea area and in John Keys O'Doherty's time was said to have had 'some large corn-fields and a penny post' to Derry. There are 3 places bearing the name Killea: Donegal, Tipperary Waterford. Killea in Donegal is 4 miles from Derry on the road to Letterkenny, where Killea graveyard is nearby; tradition says that the Bishop of Derry, Redmond O'Gallagher, martyred on 8 March 1601, is buried there; it had 930 inhabitants in O'Doherty's time in 1837, according to Samuel Lewis's *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (S Lewis & Co, London 1837)
15 Vera McFadden: *Termonbacca---The Other Sanctuary* 28
16 ' A small plain building, for the repairs of which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have recently [1837] granted £273' --- Samuel Lewis: *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* Vo II, 133 (S Lewis & Co London

1837)

17 St Johnston , a village close on nine miles from Lifford originated in the Plantation of Ulster made by James I to Louis Stewart, Duke of Lennox and Earl of Richmond, on condition of his settling 13 families of English or Scottish artisans or mechanics---cf ibid Vol II, 31

18 Dermot W O'Dwyer in 'Railway Engineering' in *The Encyclopaedia of Ireland* 911 (Gill & Macmillan Ltd Dublin 2003)

19 ibid. Bernard Share in *'Railways'* 912-913

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35 ibid

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37 *Diocese of Derry Directory*2006

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40 *Diocese of Derry Directory* 2006

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42 Memorabilia 38

43 *Diocese of Derry Directory* 60

44 ib

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46 ibid 81

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN COUNTY DONEGAL, 1900-2005[1]

Sandra Buchanan

ABSTRACT

County Donegal Vocational Education Committee (VEC) is one of thirty-three VECs across the country. In November 2005 it celebrated its one hundredth anniversary and as part of its centenary celebrations it published its history across the county over one hundred years.[2] Co Donegal VEC, as it is structured today, was shaped not only at a local level in the county, but also at a national level, both politically and ecclesiastically. In this article, the book's editor takes a brief look at the factors that influenced the development of vocational education in Ireland and how they impacted on the development of Co Donegal VEC over the last one hundred years.[3]

INTRODUCTION

A clear understanding and appreciation of the history of Co Donegal VEC is not possible without some background knowledge on the development of vocational education in Ireland along with an understanding of the social makeup of the county during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

As the most northernly county on the island of Ireland, Donegal covers some 486,091 hectares (or 1,193,621 acres[4]) in total or 6.9% of the total land area of the Republic, making it the fourth largest in the country. It also contains the largest Gaeltacht area nationally which covers one third of the county's land area and has the longest coastline, some 1,134 km or 17.1% of the national coastline. The county has a population of 137,383 persons[5] with 23.4% of the population aged 0-14 years and 12.6% of the population aged 65 and over. Donegal's unique geographical location was determined by political factors in the early part of the twentieth century which succeeded in severing much of the county from its natural hinterland, with Donegal subsequently becoming part of the Irish Free State in 1922, leading to considerable isolation of the county .[6] The unique geographical shape of the county (its sheer size, distance from the seat of government and being connected to the rest of the Republic by only ten kilometres of land) has been a strong influence in terms of shaping the provision of education and training, particularly that implemented by Co Donegal VEC.

DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND

Vocational education (or technical as it was known as in its early days) in Ireland was first initiated in the 1700s and 1800s mainly for the teaching of art. In Dublin in 1867 the Royal College of Science was established 'to supply, as far as practicable, a complete course of instruction in Science applicable to the industrial arts especially that which may be classed broadly under the heads of:- (1) mining, (2) agricultural, (3) engineering, (4) manufactures'.[7] Around the same time in England a Department of Practical Art was set up in 1852 'to promote general elementary instruction in art and to give assistance to

schools in which art was taught. Later, it was taken over by the Privy Council Committee on Education (the forerunner of the British Ministry of Education) and shortly afterwards became the Department of Science and Art'.[8] Part of the remit of this body was the distribution of 'the annual Parliamentary Vote for instruction in science and art and through it a proportion of the moneys voted reached Ireland. The schools and institutions aided in this country include National Schools and evening classes, in addition to art and science courses in Secondary Schools and Technical Institutions…and to the Training Colleges'.[9]

In the early years of the twentieth century the education system in Ireland as a whole was largely controlled by religious organisations which effectively meant that 'the vast majority of children, in so far as they got educated at all, got the education the Catholic Church thought they should get'.[10] However, Garvin tells us that 'an apparently minor but eventually crucial non-denominational exception to the general pattern of ecclesiastical control was the underdeveloped but emergent vocational education sector. This politically disadvantaged sector was to become a very hot political potato'.[11] In 1889 the Technical Instruction Act was passed to meet a growing demand throughout the country for technical education. However, the funding provided was 'insufficient for all practical purposes, so that the Corporations of the cities were the only bodies which could undertake to carry out the provisions of the Technical Instruction Act to any reasonable extent'.[12] In other words, it really had no effect at all in a distant and rural county like Donegal. Furthermore, by the time independence was achieved 'virtually the entire educational system on the island was controlled by clerics'.[13] Moreover, 'the idea that mass secondary and tertiary education of a type extended to the entire population was desirable and even required to build a modern economy scarcely existed'.[14]

Irish society in the 1800s and the earlier half of the 1900s was also very much an agrarian one, thus ensuring that the history of vocational education in Co Donegal was intricately linked with that of agriculture, as indeed it was for much of the rest of the country at that time. In Donegal 'throughout the nineteenth century the administrative affairs…were in the hands of the gentlemen of the Grand Jury [mainly comprising wealthy landowners]…they were an unelected body. The day-to-day business of running the county was in the hands of the Board of Guardians'.[15] As the end of the nineteenth century beckoned attempts were being made by the British government to find a solution to the Irish question through Home Rule and land reform. 'Donegal was in the forefront of the land campaign…A series of Land Acts succeeded in bringing agrarian agitation to an end, and one of them in particular (in 1891) had a dramatic effect on the infrastructure of the county. It set up a body called the Congested Districts Board, which covered most of Donegal, and aimed to improve conditions through education, training, new industry, communications and marketing'.[16] The early work of the VEC's predecessor, the County Donegal Joint Technical Instruction Committee and its forerunner the County Donegal Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee were very much shaped by the remit of the Congested Districts Board. Moreover, 'education and vocational training were seen as vital to help small communities survive. [For example] a crochet class was started in the small village of Carrowmena in Inishowen, while in Ardara lace-making classes were organised for young women'.[17]

RECESS COMMITTEE FINDINGS

In 1895, the Recess Committee, an unofficial Committee of Irish men, on the invitation of Mr Horace Plunkett, met:

> *to inquire into Ireland's agricultural and industrial resources and to study, in regard to the development of these resources, the methods adopted in other countries for the promotion of agriculture and industry through the agency of the State and the co-operation of the inhabitants.*[18]

It issued its report about a year later, which suggested that the agricultural and industrial interests of the country might best be promoted by:

> *the diffusion of expert information, and by practical education, and for this purpose recommended that an entirely new Department be set up to direct the work of agricultural and technical development and education.*[19]

As a result, the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 was passed and became fully operational on the 01 April 1900. Under this Act the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was set up in Dublin and the Parliamentary Vote, previously administered from London by the Department of Science and Art, was transferred to this new Department, along with the provision of an annual endowment of £55,000 for the purposes of technical instruction.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN CO. DONEGAL

Meanwhile in Co Donegal, the Grand Jury held its last meeting in Lifford in 1899 as 'in that year it was abolished and replaced by the County Council, whose members were elected by residents of the county'[20] under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction set about organising schemes in manual instruction, rural industries and domestic science in rural areas. The schemes were administered by 'statutory Committees consisting of members of the Councils and of other persons selected'[21], thus creating Technical Committees or combined Technical and Agricultural Committees. In the case of Co Donegal the County Council created the County Donegal Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee which held its first meeting in the Courthouse, Lifford on the 27th November 1900. The minutes of this committee meeting tell us that those attending that first meeting included:

William J. Hanna Esq.
Edward McFadden Esq. M.P.
Hugh A Law Esq.
Rt. Revd. Mgr. McGlinn
Hugh McDevitt, Esq.
Captain Thomas B. Stoney
Teague Magee Esq.
Michael Cassidy, Esq.
William Gallagher, Esq.
Peter Ward Esq.
The Revd Fr. Stephens

Wm. J.A. Wray Esq.
Abraham Manning Esq.
Francis Callaghan Esq.
The Revd John Sweeney P.P.
George Moore Esq.[22]

Captain Stoney was appointed permanent Vice-Chairman and the Most Reverend Dr Patrick O Donnell, the bishop of Raphoe (who would later become the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and who was an active member of the Congested District Board since 1892[23]) was appointed permanent Chairman (and was reappointed to this position every year until 1923). All appointments to this Committee continued to be made by the County Council for some years afterwards. As it turned out however, the Chairperson, Dr O'Donnell was unable to attend the first meeting and submitted a letter of apology, which also outlined some of his ideas for the rollout of the work of the committee.[24] Based on this letter, the Secretary was requested to:

> *communicate with the various Rural District Councils in the County and the Urban District Council of Letterkenny and Ballyshannon Town Commissioners requesting them to appoint in their Districts a Technical Instruction Committee and that said Committee prepare as soon as practicable a scheme for its District according to the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instructions Act 1899 for submission to this Committee and that a copy of Dr. O'Donnell's letter be attached.*[25]

And so began the pioneering work of the County Donegal Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee. A plan of work, created from submissions from these local technical instruction committees in the various towns and villages, had to be submitted by the County Committee to the Department for approval each year before it could be implemented. Initially the Committee's work was only geographically concerned were the non-congested district areas, with the Congested areas added in 1904.[26] A year later, in 1905, the County Donegal Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee was split in two to form the Committee of Agriculture and the Joint Technical Instruction Committee (with the latter becoming the forerunner to the VEC today).

ITINERANT INSTRUCTORS AND PERMANENT CENTRES

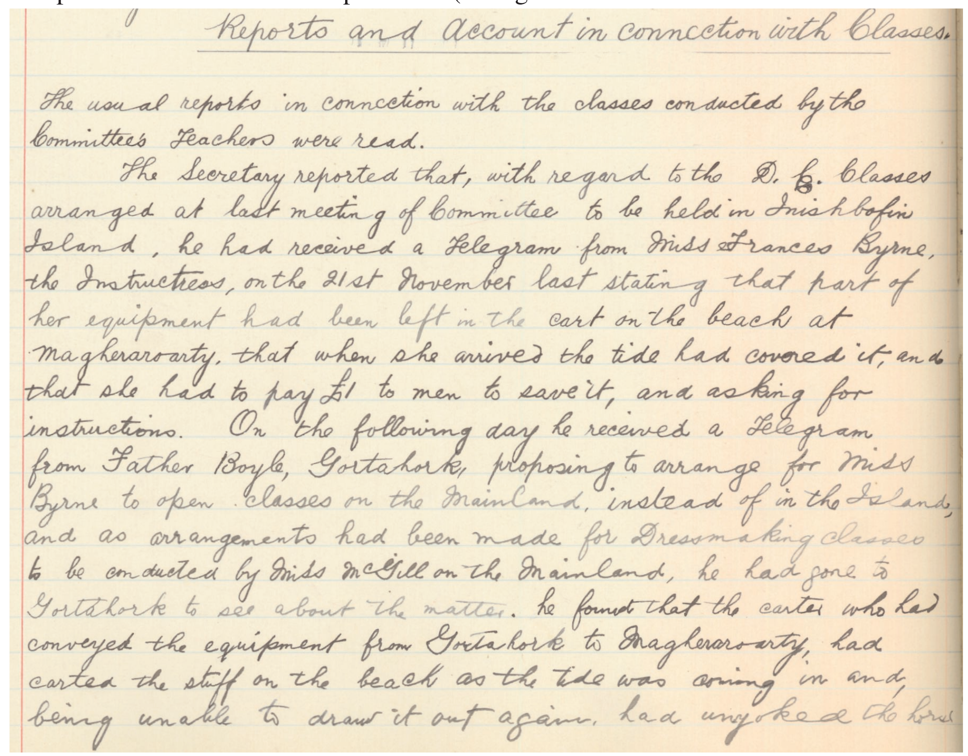
The main method of instruction in the early years of the Committee's work was that of itinerant instructors who travelled around the county providing classes for perhaps a month at a time. This was not an easy task at the turn of the last century in such a large rural county, particularly in terms of provision for the islands, as the extract from the minutes of the County Donegal Joint Technical Instruction Committee of 17 December 1912 illustrate[27]:

By 1912 the Technical Scheme had two distinct sections; 'itinerant instruction in

woodwork and domestic economy and home industries classes conducted at permanent centres'.[28] A year later the Committee began to think about formal school buildings for training provision as:

> *a resolution of the County Tyrone Technical Committee with reference to the urgent necessity for a building for Technical schools was, on the motion of [Donegal Committee members] Father Doherty seconded by Father McMenamin adopted and the Secretary was directed to write and request the members of Parliament for the County to press on the Government to provide funds for the purpose in their next budget.* [29]

This adopted motion however, was to come to fruition sooner than expected. Dr Garrett, a representative from the Department (of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for


Reports and Account in connection with Classes.

The usual reports in connection with the classes conducted by the Committees Teachers were read.

The Secretary reported that, with regard to the D. E. Classes arranged at last meeting of Committee to be held in Inishbofin Island, he had received a Telegram from Miss Frances Byrne, the Instructress, on the 21st November last stating that part of her equipment had been left in the cart on the beach at Magheraroarty, that when she arrived the tide had covered it, and that she had to pay £1 to men to save it, and asking for instructions. On the following day he received a Telegram from Father Boyle, Gortahork, proposing to arrange for Miss Byrne to open classes on the Mainland, instead of in the Island, and as arrangements had been made for Dressmaking classes to be conducted by Miss McGill on the Mainland, he had gone to Gortahork to see about the matter. He found that the carter who had conveyed the equipment from Gortahork to Magheraroarty, had carted the stuff on the beach as the tide was coming in and, being unable to draw it out again, had unyoked the horse

Minutes of Meeting

Ireland), attended the Committee meeting in March 1914 at which a letter was read from the Department including:

> *a Schedule dealing with the financial transactions of the Committee in respect of the Scheme of Technical Instruction in non-Agricultural subjects which was in operation in the County during the Academic year 1912-13…The statement showed that there was a balance of £830:14:10 to the credit of the Committee on*

> *the 31st July and the Secretary said that he estimated there would be a balance of close on £1000 at the close of the present academic year.* [30]

Furthermore:

> *The Secretary mentioned that he had been considering that, if the Committee thought it advisable, it might be possible to establish two Technical Schools in the County with the balance which would be available on the 31st July next and that he had had an interview with Dr Garrett on the matter. Dr Garrett informed the Committee that he had thought it would be quite possible to establish two schools with the £1000 which is expected to be available, and gave particulars as to the expenditure which would be incurred in connection with same. He suggested Letterkenny and Ballyshannon as the two towns in which the schools could be established with the best chance of success being the two towns with the largest populations in the County. The Committee instructed the Secretary to mention specially on the Agenda for the next meeting that this question will be under consideration.*[31]

Thus, the first of many technical schools in the county opened in Ballyshannon and Letterkenny in 1914. James O Neill was appointed Principal of both, later going on to become the first Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the VEC in 1930. Further schools followed in Carndonagh in 1918 and Buncrana in 1925, with Martin Griffin becoming the Principal, initially of the school in Carndonagh in 1918 and then the Principal of the school in Buncrana in 1925, a post he held until his death in 1940. [32]





Left to right - James O' Neill, first CEO of Donegal VEC and Martin Griffin, first principal of Carndonagh Technical School in 1918 and Buncrana Technical School, where he served from 1925 to 1940

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE NEEDS OF LOCAL COMMITTEES

In 1924, under the Ministers and Secretaries Act, technical education was passed over to the Department of Education which set up a commission in 1926 to 'enquire into and advise upon the system of Technical Education in Saorstát Éireann in relation to the requirements of Trade and Industry'.[33] The result was the enactment of the 1930 Vocational Education Act, with the Joint Technical Instruction Committee transformed into the Vocational Education Committee to provide continuation and technical education.[34] In terms of their makeup and funding:

> *the Committees were to be representative of educational, cultural, commercial and industrial interests in the area, but the local authorities themselves were limited to notmore than eight seats. Finance was to be provided partly from local rates, partly from government subventions which were intended to be on a pro rata basis but often outpaced the local contribution. Fees were payable by the students participating, but they were deliberately fixed at a very low level and accounted probably for not more than ten per cent of income.*[35]

While it is apparent from earliest times that the development of vocational education and training in Co Donegal was shaped by legislative developments at a national level, in the earlier part of the twentieth century the political and ecclesiastical issues were also influencing factors, both of which had reverberations in Co Donegal. However, at a local level in the county, the overriding influence of the Committee had always been that of meeting the needs of local communities throughout the county. The enactment of the Vocational Education Act in 1930 saw the school in Ballyshannon also become the first headquarters for County Donegal VEC until 1949 when the headquarters moved to Letterkenny Technical School.

The Committee's building programme expanded rapidly over the next few decades; technical schools were opened in Loughanure in 1938, Stranorlar in 1940, Carrick in 1950, Donegal Town in 1954, Derrybeg in 1954, Milford in 1957, Gortahork in 1961 and Raphoe in 1965; it is clearly evident from the minutes of Co Donegal VEC that this expansion was not implemented at a rate that was rapid enough for local communities; time and again, while schools were sought in towns and villages across the county, it took years, if not decades to obtain them, despite the best efforts of the Committee itself.[36]Moreover, this was not an issue peculiar to Co Donegal. Nationally, ecclesiastical control on the education system was impacting heavily on vocational education and training. According to Garvin:

> *A decade of apparently unexpected growth and reasonable success for the vocational sector seems to have convinced the bishops that 'a major mistake had been made by them in 1930 in accepting the ministerial assurances on the act'…The increasing popularity of the vocational courses led to 'much concern among Church authorities'. This concern eventually resulted in 'a number of limitations and changes being imposed on the vocational system which affected both the image and development of that system'…research demonstrates that this pro-clerical concern was shared by key senior officers in the state's Department*

of Education…In effect, what had been looked upon as an ancillary attachment of minor importance to the educational system began to look important, useful and popular, and therefore dangerous,because modernisation was occurring anyway and off-farm economic activity was increasing.[37]

Moreover, the Second World War meant that in the early 1940s the vocational education system was, in effect, financially starved 'by a wartime Fianna Fáil government desperate for cash, reaching a nadir in 1946-47'.[38] Furthermore 'de Valera's apparent dislike of vocational education was connected with his wish to slow down the process of social change in Ireland, a process which necessarily involved the migration from smaller to larger communities; the dissemination of vocational skills merely encouraged an accelerated such migration'.[39]

Overall it would seem then that 'episcopal objections and general conservatism prevented the expansion, as originally intended, of the vocational system into a fully-fledged parallel system to the secondary school system, with equal access to an emerging third-level system, as was normal in many European countries'.[40]Simply put, 'the vocational schools were seen as a fly in the ointment because they were not controlled by the clerics, even though clerical presence on the Vocational Education Committees of the local councils was strong outside Dublin and some other towns….During the 1950s, despite a growing awareness of the importance of technical and vocational education, relatively little was done until the general crisis of the mid-1950s was resolved in the mid-1960s, fundamentally because of a chronic stand-off between the forces of Church and state'. [41]

Indeed, the 1960s were to herald expansive changes to the education system as a whole. In 1965 the Department of Education and the OECD released the report Investment in Education which 'collected important statistical data for the first time, intended to indicate the resources available, and the efficiency with which they were used. It provided striking evidence of the lack of opportunity for poorer children to proceed to secondary and higher education'.[42] As Lee eloquently states 'after its exposure of the waste of talent fostered by an educational system based on low intellectual and relatively high financial entry requirements to advanced levels, it was no longer possible to sustain fond illusions about the wonderful educational performance'.[43] Building grants for second-level schools had already been introduced in 1964, Regional Technical Colleges were to be established with which the VECs would have an important role to play in terms of their management and it was announced by the then Minister for Education Donogh O'Malley, T.D. that second-level education was to be made free. With 1966 being one of the last years of paying for education by local communities (in terms of books, transport etc.), exciting times lay ahead for the country and this of course also had repercussions on developments in Co Donegal.

EXPANSION AND RATIONALISATION IN DONEGAL

As we saw earlier, in the first half of the twentieth century the VEC in Co Donegal was mainly concerned with expanding the provision of second-level vocational schools across the county. However, as other private or religious secondary schools had also opened in various towns, the need began to arise from the early 1970s to consolidate this provision

and amalgamations of a number of schools began to take place; the McDevitt Institute, financially supported by Co Donegal VEC from 1933, closed in 1968 to give way to St Columba's Comprehensive in Glenties; the technical school in Loughanure amalgamated with Dungloe High School in 1970 to become Rosses Community School; the technical school which opened in Derrybeg (Gweedore) in 1954 was amalgamated with Ard-Scoil Mhuire Bunbeg to form Pobail Scoil Gaoth Dobhair in 1973; the vocational school in Gortahork which opened in 1961, closed ten years later to make way for the Community School in Falcarragh and the vocational school in Carndonagh amalgamated with two other smaller schools in the town to form Carndonagh Community School in 1973, none of which remained within the remit of Co Donegal VEC. Nevertheless, in later years, despite this rationalisation, further schools were opened across the county as needs dictated in Ballinamore in 1982, Arranmore Island in 1990, Bundoran in 1992, Tory Island in 1999, Moville in 2001 and Coláiste Ailigh, Letterkenny in 2003, increasing the number of schools to the fourteen under the remit of the VEC today.

At the same time the Committee began to expand its service provision in other areas with the opening of the Catering College in Killybegs in 1969 (although the VEC had overseen catering and tourism training here from 1955), the acquisition of the eighty-seven acre Gartan Estate45 in 1968, which was developed into Gartan Outdoor Education Centre, the management of the Letterkenny Regional Technical College from 1971 until 1992 and the further development of Adult Education Services, which for many years, while being considered the Cinderella of education, had provided valuable and necessary classes for adults down through the years in the form of night classes and basic literacy classes. This service in particular expanded considerably with the advent of the White Paper in Adult Education in 2000 whereby a substantial increase in funding saw a parallel increase in adult learners in the county, growing from approximately 521 adult learners in 1998 to almost 14,000 in 2004 and accounting for almost 45% of the work of Co Donegal

VEC todayThe VEC's activities during this time were overseen by three CEOs – Michael Cryan retired in 1971 and Edward Gibson took over for the next five years until 1976, when he moved to Co Wexford to become CEO there. Seán Ó Longáin, a native of Co Mayo, was appointed as CEO in 1976 and continues in office up to the present.[44]

CONCLUSION

In many ways educational life in the county at the turn of the twentieth century was very different to that at the turn of the nineteenth century in terms of for example, the use of what were known as itinerant teachers. In other ways however, it was largely similar with some practices having changed only slightly since 1905. Nevertheless, the work of the Committee has continued to develop and progress steadily over the last one hundred years. Looking back, huge changes have taken place not only in the development of the organisation itself but also within education and training both locally and nationally

Co Donegal VEC has grown and developed from a few itinerant instructors who travelled around the county providing communities with valuable and necessary training in technical subjects such as domestic science, manual instruction and agricultural training in 1905, under the guidance of the Tír Chonaill Joint Technical Instruction Committee, to having four technical schools opened by 1930, to being the fifth largest VEC in the coun-

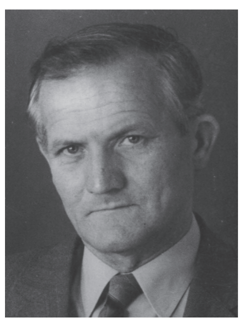


Gartan Education Centre

try today, reaching some 18,500 learners across the county and its islands through its fourteen second-level schools and colleges (extending from Bundoran to Moville and from Raphoe to Arranmore and Tory Islands), the Tourism College Killybegs, an Outdoor Education Centre located on eighty-seven acres at Gartan, Churchill, extensive part-time education provision for thousands of adults in six dedicated Adult Education & Training Centres and numerous schools/colleges and community-based centres, together with support for youth service programmes including Youth Information Centres in Donegal Town in collaboration with Foróige and in Letterkenny with Donegal Youth Services and the addition of a Local Music Education Services Partnership (LMESP) in co-operation with the Donegal School of Music.



Michael Cryan



Edward Gibson



Seán Ó'Longáin

The Committee's mission statement today is 'to promote, offer and support accessible, inclusive and holistic learning opportunities which will enable young people and adults to

empower themselves to reach their full potential in society' and its core values in an era of life-long learning of valuing, respecting and fostering the potential and contribution of learners, parents, volunteers, staff and partnership in order to meet the needs of local communities, are central to this. In many ways, these values are epitomised by Co Donegal VEC's early pioneers including Dr Patrick O Donnell, the first Chairperson of the Joint Technical Instruction Committee, James O Neill, Co Donegal VEC's first CEO and Lucius Emerson, one of Co Donegal VEC's early instructors and Principal, who at the age of 93 years in June 2005 was awarded an M.A. degree by HETAC 'in recognition of his outstanding achievement in learning and scholarship outside the confines of third level education'.[45] Despite activities being slowed by national dictates, the vision of these early pioneers and of the Committee and staff as a whole, has ensured that much has been accomplished over the last one hundred years.

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The views expressed in this article are those of the author and not Co Donegal VEC.

2 Buchanan, Sandra (Ed.). Coiste Gairmoideachais Chontae Dhún na nGall 1905-2005. *Súil Siar • Ceiliúradh • Múnlú na Todhchaí* / County Donegal Vocational Education Committee 1905-2005. *Reflecting • Celebrating • Shaping the Future*. Co Donegal VEC, Letterkenny, 2005.

3 Five distinct periods can be identified in the history of Co Donegal VEC; 1900-1905 covers the initial activ ities of the Donegal County Agriculture and Technical Instruction Committee which was under the remit of the County Council at the time; 1905-1930 covers the period from when the Department split the commit tee into two separate committees (with the Joint Technical Instruction Committee covering technical/voca tional training) in 1905 until the introduction of the 1930 Vocational Education Act; 1931-1966 covers the history of the VEC up until free education was introduced; 1966-1999 covers the VEC's history up until the end of the twentieth century and 2000-2005 covers the most recent history of the organisation during the twenty-first century.

4 Beattie, Seán. Donegal. *(Ireland in Old Photographs)*. Sutton Publishing, Gloucestershire, 2004, p.5

5 Census of Population 2002

6 The 2002 Census of Population found that the county had an unemployment rate of 15.6%, double the national average. It also has some of the highest rates of early school leaving in the country and in 2005 was found to have the highest poverty rate in the country (see Combat Poverty Agency. *Mapping Poverty*: *National, Regional and County Patterns*. Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 2005)

7 *Vocational Education in Ireland*. (Source unknown) Records Unit, Department of Education and Science. nd p.1

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Garvin, Tom, *Preventing the Future*, *Why Was Ireland So Poor for So Long*?, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 2005, p.158

11 Garvin, Tom. Op. cit., 2005, pp.158-159

12 *Vocational Education in Ireland*. Op. cit., p.2

13 Garvin, Tom. Op. cit., 2005, p.167

14 Ibid.

15 Beattie, Seán. Op. cit., p.9

16 Ibid., p.14

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18 *Vocational Education in Ireland*. Op. cit., p.2

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20 Beattie, Seán. Op. cit., p.9

21 *Vocational Education in Ireland*, Op. cit., p.3

22 County Donegal Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee, Minutes of the meeting of 27 November 1900, p.1

23 Bolger, Pat 'The Congested Districts Board and the Co-Ops in Donegal' in Nolan, William, Ronayne, Liam and Dunlevy, Mairead (Eds.), Donegal History and Society, Geography Publications, Dublin, 1995, p.656.

24 County Donegal Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee, Minutes of the meeting of 27 November 1900, pp.2-4

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., Minutes of the meeting of 19 February, 1904, p.5

27 County Donegal Joint Technical Instruction Committee, Minutes of the meeting of 17 December 1912, p.2

28 Ibid. Minutes of the meeting of 08 October 1912, p.3

29 Ibid. Minutes of the meeting of 14 January 1913, p.6

30 Ibid. Minutes of the meeting of 20 March 1914, pp.2-3

31 Ibid. Minutes of the meeting of 20 March 1914, p.3

32 It was intended to open a school in Buncrana in 1918 along with the Carndonagh school. However, the

Committee found it impossible as it was found that 'owing to Buncrana being such an important military and naval base at present, every house in or about it was occupied and not even rooms in separate houses could be obtained. In the circumstances it would not be possible to establish a school in Buncrana this session'. (County Donegal Joint Technical Instruction Committee. Minutes of the meeting of 06 August 1918, p.3).

33 *Vocational Education in Ireland*, Op. cit.

34 Continuation education was defined as education 'to continue and supplement education provided in elemen tary schools and include general and practical training in preparation for employment in trades, manufac tures, agriculture, commerce, and other industrial pursuits, and also general and practical training for improvement of young persons in the early stages of such employment.'

Technical education was defined as education 'pertaining to trades, manufactures, commerce, and other industrial pursuits (including the occupations of girls and women connected with the household) and in sub jects bearing thereon or relating thereto and includes education in science and art (including in the county boroughs of Dublin and Cork, music) and also includes physical training.'

35 Lyons, F.S.L. Ireland Since the Famine. Fontana Press, London, 1973, p.650.

36 For example, a school was first sought in Milford in 1927 but was not obtained until 1957; in Moville in 1936 and again in 1952 but was not obtained until 2001; in Arranmore Island in 1949 but was not obtained until 1990; in Killybegs in 1958 but was not obtained until 1973 and in Donegal Town in 1935 but was not obtained until 1954. The minutes from 1900-1990 give an excellent overview of these developments.

37 Garvin, Tom. Op. cit., pp.172-174

38 Ibid., p.175

39 Ibid., p.176

40 Ibid., "Furthermore, de Valera's general scepticism about the value of vocational training or what might have been his indifference to it was seriously damaging".

41 Ibid., p.196

42 Lee, J.J. *Ireland 1912-1985 Politics and Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989, p. 361

43 Ibid.

44 Michael Cryan, CEO 1949-1971; Edward Gibson, CEO 1971-1976; Seán Ó Longáin, CEO 1976-present.

45 '93-year-old's unique MA achievement' in the *Donegal Democrat*, 11 June 2005. Lucius won a scholarship to St Jarlath's College in Tuam in 1927 where he studied carpentry and woodwork. His first job was as a technical instructor in the Technical School in Ballyshannon in 1936. He then became the teacher-in-charge of the newly established Loughanure Technical School in 1938, moving on to become the teacher-in-charge of the Stranorlar Technical School in 1940 and headmaster a year later in 1941. He then returned to Ballyshannon in 1949 where he was the Principal until the mid-1960s. He was Vice-President of Donegal Historical Society and Curator of the Society's museum at Rossnowlagh.

PETER MCLAUGHLIN

RAPHOE AND DERRY

1760 - 1840

Rev. Philip Donnelly

He was born in 1760 (or 1757) in the Derry parish of Donaghmore in the valley of the Finn in east Donegal. This was also the birthplace of his nephew, John, who likewise became bishop of Derry. The newspaper account of his career at his death gives the year of his birth as 1757[1]. Father James McLaughlin, quoting Propaganda records, confirms this date.[2] A similar date is given by Daly and Devlin.[3] The Finn valley, called the plain of Magh Ith, was inherited by the McLaughlin family in the thirteenth century, according to James McLaughlin .[4]

REVOLUTION IN PARIS

He went to Paris for his seminary studies at the Irish College, rue des Irlandais, according to Daly and Devlin. *The Brief Memoirs of the Bishops of Derry* names the College of the Lombards as his place of study and adds that at the same time he attended lectures at the Sorbonne. In fact the two institutions were merged, the College des Lombards being an institution for seminarians from Northern Italy which also educated Irish students.[5]In his nine-year stay there he witnessed the storming of the Bastille in 1789 'midst the horrors of the Revolution … a spectator of the storming of the Bastille, having witnessed the heads of the Governor and his sons dripping in blood'. He would always be a lover of civil peace. "The honoured name of Doctor McLaughlin was long, and is yet remembered and respected by his fellow students"[6]. After his ordination in 1790 he came back to Ireland in 1791, as did his fellow-students Patrick McKenna of Maghera, later parish priest of Malin, and the Rev Mr Morgan.[7] On his return to the diocese, he taught in the diocesan seminary, probably in Ferguson's Lane, becoming principal from 1790 to 1802.[8] He became parish priest of Drumragh (Omagh) for the same period and Dean of Derry.[9] James McLaughlin believes he was professor of the seminary 'for a short time' before going to Omagh as parish priest. [10]

After the death of the bishop of Raphoe, Dr Coyle, Peter McLaughlin PP, Omagh, was chosen on the 12th of April, and formally appointed on the 25th of that month[11]. The priests of Raphoe had unanimously recommended him as their bishop, a very unusual circumstance, considering that he was not a native of the diocese. His consecration as bishop of Raphoe took place eight months later on 6 December 1802. He resided in the parish of Kilbarron (Ballyshannon), "vigorously combining the conscientious discharge of his episcopal duties with the parochial work of a zealous missionary priest"[12] .Father John Kelly was already in office as parish priest and he remained undisturbed in his benefice till he died in 1805.

CONWAL

The previous bishop had resided in Conwal (Letterkenny), as did his successor. We do not know McLaughlin's reasons for going to live in Kilbarron. He was not impressed at the state of his parish church and set about renovating, extending and improving it. At the age of forty-two with a fine physique, he had inexhaustible energy. He gave classes in philosophy and theology and continued to build and repair churches. It is known that he attended a gathering of the prelates of Ireland in Dublin on 14 September 1808 and strongly denounced the proposal to give a veto to the government in the appointment of bishops in Ireland. Twenty-three of the bishops affixed their signature to a rejection while three expressed their dissent.[13] Brennan is emphatic that McLaughlin was one of the twenty-three.

KILBARRON.

In his own parish of Kilbarron, he ran into difficulty with raising funds, not an unprecedented situation. One of his vociferous opponents was Philip Boyle, shoemaker. The bishop erected a gallery in the nave of the church in 1803 and two others in the transepts in 1804. To meet the expense he took the step, not unknown in the diocese, of auctioning the pews to parishioners who could afford it.[14] Edward Maguire quotes Randal Kieran's pamphlet on the topic, of which a copy may be found in the Halliday Collection, Royal Irish Academy. Philip Boyle objected most strongly (and offensively) to this method of raising funds. "I will stand up for Kilbarron as long as I have a button on my coat", he said, describing a statement by Father Joseph Hanigan, a curate of the parish, as a lie. Rioting broke out in the church, amid shouting and tumult. A detachment of soldiers of the Limerick Militia attending Mass quelled the disturbance, fearing an attack on the bishop. Boyle shouted : "Come on, boys. Now, parishioners of Kilbarron, speak for yourselves". He rushed out of the church shouting, "I have left a hot house in there". This event took place on Sunday 10 March 1804. McLaughlin warned Boyle of excommunication, proposing to admonish him on the three Sundays following, and then, if he failed to tender a public apology, threatened that he would excommunicate him on the following Sunday. A Protestant attorney called Fausset, who was advising Boyle, remarked, " If I were to speak to a Bishop of my Church, as you spoke to Dr MacLaughlin, he would order his footman to kick me out". One of Boyle's witnesses, Michael Daly, declared in his sworn evidence: "Dr MacLaughlin is a very quiet man. We have never had a better clergyman". A witness testified that Boyle was also a quiet and peaceable man. Bishop McLaughlin pronounced the sentence of excommunication, depriving Boyle of the sacraments. (When we observe McLaughlin's tactics thirty years later at the time of the Coleraine crisis, when he used freely the censure of interdiction, we might question Michael Daly's opinion. This bishop was indeed a man of great determination). Philip Boyle took the bishop to Lifford Assizes on 21 March 1809, claiming damages for slander before Judge Baron McClelland and a jury of Plantation stock. Baron McClelland made his position clear. Only the Established Church possessed such a power as excommunication, he announced, and added that Roman Catholic prelates had no legal right to inflict censures on people, that the time had gone by when Popes and prelates exercised dominion over the Christian world. The jury found for the plaintiff, awarding him damages against the bishop of £125.

In Kilbarron parish there was a celebrated St Barron's Well to which people resorted in thousands in the summer, especially at the time of the Assumption, performing various devotions, accompanied by activities described as bibulous and frivolous. McLaughlin and his priests operated a campaign of denunciation which ended only in the 1860s.[15]

RAPHOE

At the time of his episcopal ordination the diocese of Raphoe was understaffed in priests. A report from his predecessor's time stated: "There are in the Diocese 22 Parish Priests…There are 12 Curates …. Five or six more are wanted". So the new bishop took four priests with him from Derry. One was Michael MacGoldrick whom he had helped in his studies for the priesthood. He installed him at the age of thirty as pastor of Inver, described as the premier parish of the Raphoe diocese. The parishioners extolled the wisdom of the bishop's selection.[16] The bishop brought Fr. John Hegarty with him from Derry. He built the old church at Killaghtee and is remembered as an "energetic and capable clergyman". In 1828 he went to Clondahorky, then back to Derry. Another Derry priest who accompanied McLaughlin was Henry McCullagh whom he appointed to Inniskeel. There, a local magnate called Rory O'Donnell raised difficulties with the pastor about a Mass site and sought the support of the Earl of Bristol who was also the Protestant bishop of Derry. Bishop McLaughlin's decision "enshrined in terse Gaelic" is still remembered: "The law of the land cannot touch the sacred relations subsisting between a father and his children, between a teacher and his pupils, or between a pastor and his parishioners". Bishop McLaughlin's last recorded administrative act was to appoint James Magee as parish priest of Kilmacrenan before he left Raphoe in 1819. Meanwhile back in Derry Bishop Charles O'Donnell (nicknamed "Orange Charlie"), aged 72, had by 1819 become incapacitated by age and infirmity. The Derry priests called for the appointment of McLaughlin as bishop and he was assigned the administration of the diocese. "The priests and people of Raphoe accompanied him, in tearful regret, as far as the frontier of the diocese. From that point the clergy and representative laymen of Derry conducted him in triumph back to his native see."[17] His seventeen years as bishop of Raphoe had been highly successful.

The Catholic population were descendants of rural migrant labour, especially from Donegal. Most of them were crammed into the Bogside, in unsanitary, overcrowded housing with little facilities for water and sewage. Some still lived in mud cabins and in the marshland. There were regular outbreaks of cholera. One epidemic ended in 1832, with 884 cases and 184 deaths. Many of these patients were treated in the Infirmary in Northland Road. With the want of clean water and proper clothing those who survived were debilitated and if they grew to maturity were sickly and infirm.[18] In ecclesiastical terms the city was poorly provided for. Before the building of the Long Tower church people could remember attending Mass under the hawthorn bush on the Long Tower site or on the top of Grianán Hill three miles away. The Long Tower was the only Catholic church in the whole of Derry City and greatly venerated as the site of St Colmcille's monastery. Father Neal J O'Donnell was administrator of Templemore, the city parish, when McLaughlin was appointed apostolic administrator of Derry on 6 December 1818. McLaughlin resigned as bishop of Raphoe on 29 July 1819.[19] He was appointed

Administrator of the diocese of Derry on 23 November 1818 by brief dated 12 January 1819.[20] The outgoing bishop of Derry, Charles O'Donnell, died on 19 July 1823. Propaganda translated McLaughlin to Derry on 29 March1824. The translation was confirmed by the Pope on 4 April 1824.[21]

He would have attended the funeral of Father Charles O'Sheil, parish priest of Clonmany, in 1829.[22] The two had much in common. Charles O'Sheil died at the age of 74, which made him a few years older than the bishop, who was then about 69. The Londonderry Sentinel is highly complimentary towards Father O'Sheil. Though his house was "in a relatively wild district….he was an ecclesiastic of the old school, greatly superior in refinement and liberality to those who are now manufactured in Maynooth…. . He had received his education in France and the politeness and liberality he acquired in a long residence among that polished people rendered him a most desirable companion … the Protestant gentleman was invariably the most welcome guest" At his funeral "nearly all the respectable Protestants of the district were present".[23] When Dr Higgins was consecrated as bishop of Ardagh in 1829 Dr McLaughlin made the long journey to Ballymahon in County Longford in order to be present.[24]

THE EMANCIPATION ACT 1829

In April 1829 the Emancipation Act was passed in the House of Lords, spurred on by O'Connell's remarkable election victory in Waterford. In his campaign, he had received much support from the bishops and clergy. The bishops of Ireland met in Dublin on 9 February 1830 and published a lengthy statement in which they welcomed the new measure. The signature of P McLaughlin DD appears among the 27 names appended to the foot of the declaration. The bishops made a plea for unity among the people. The Irish bishops, like Peter McLaughlin, had witnessed the savagery and bloodshed of the storming of the Bastille and were dedicated supporters of public order. Surprisingly the bishops' statement makes no allusion to Daniel O'Connell, Liberator.[25]

THE COLERAINE DISCUSSION

At this time Discussions were taking place in Derry, Omagh and Coleraine. These were theological debates held in public between teams of clergy of various churches, with the hope presumably of a better understanding through courteous debate, which would be preferable to open warfare. A public meeting took place in Coleraine in January 1831 about a problem of Protestant British soldiers being compelled to attend religious services repugnant to their conscience, such as Catholic services. As the Mayor called the meeting to order, the parish priest of Dunboe (Coleraine) of the diocese of Derry, Father Paul Bradley, raised an objection to the terms of the motion before the meeting which claimed that Popish ceremonies were contrary to the express words of Scripture. The Roman Catholic gentlemen excused themselves attending the next day having engagements that would require their presence elsewhere. They declined to name another day for discussion, alleging that they could not enter into any engagement of the kind without having previously obtained the consent of their bishop (Peter McLaughlin). That was the end of the Coleraine Discussion. Letters on the subject, usually heated, continued in the newspapers for some weeks. Presumably Peter McLaughlin thought it

unwise to continue the debate. Before the Derry and Omagh Discussions he had been reluctant at first to approve. Did he fear an outbreak of disorder, prudent man that he was?[26]Several Derry bishops of the early part of the nineteenth century, such as Charles O'Donnell, have been accused of being supporters of the Orange Order. Bishop O'Donnell was known as "Orange Charlie" because he took part in an Orange parade. They had seen the evils of civil disorder while training in Paris and were afraid of civil unrest in their own dioceses.

We learn that the bishop played his part, a modest one, in the civic life of the city. On one occasion the Sentinel carries a list of donations towards the Coal Fund for "such house-keepers of small means as may wish to avail themselves". After the Lord Bishop of Derry (Church of Ireland) who gave a gift of £15.0s, comes Rt Rev Dr McLaughlin giving his £5.0s.[27] As a follow-up to the Emancipation Act a number of leading Catholic laymen met in the "Chapel Schoolhouse", Long Tower, on Thursday 24 January 1831 probably the only suitable venue. The discussion was thoughtful and lively with much applause. They set up a committee with officers and determined to press, quietly and peaceably, for an improvement in their civic positions, and become Freemen. The Catholic laity were becoming aware of their powers as full citizens, and to use the available machinery of the state. An account of the meeting and the resolutions passed was printed in the advertising columns of the *Londonderry Sentinel*[28]

FAHAN

Peter McLaughlin had the pleasure of opening a new church at Fahan on Sunday 30 August 1834. At that period Burt, Inch and Iskaheen were administered as one parish unit, the parish priest being William McLaughlin, appointed to the parish in 1811 after a spell as curate in Templemore, Derry City. Indeed it was at his arrival as parish priest that Iskaheen first became an independent parish, having hitherto been part of Templemore. Peter McLaughlin blessed the new graveyard with its many crosses and candles, while an individual stood by with a burning coal to keep the candles alight. McLaughlin's successor in Raphoe, Bishop McGettigan was present. Archbishop Kelly, described as "titular primate", sprinkled the walls of the church outside and inside, accompanied by the singing of the choir [29] The building of the Fahan church came in the middle of a wave of church building after the relaxation of the Penal Laws which began in the late eighteenth century. This was in fact the same year as the opening of St John's Church, Coleraine, of the diocese of Derry. The Mr Monaghan mentioned as preacher was Father Hugh Monaghan, recently ordained. He would die aged 27 as curate in Templemore (Derry City). A memorial tablet placed in the Long Tower by both communities records that he died "of malignant fever caught in discharge of his religious duties".[30]

LORD MULGRAVE'S VISIT

The next year a new Lord Lieutenant Lord Mulgrave, was appointed in Ireland. An impressive dinner for 150 gentlemen was held in the Corporation Hall in the city. Only five of the forty magistrates, and a mere three landed proprietors were present. Before the meeting began, the Bishop and clergy of the diocese of Derry presented a welcoming address to the Lord Lieutenant assuring him of their loyalty. Sir Robert A Ferguson, Bart

MP was in the chair. Then something quite unexpected took place. Dr McLaughlin had left earlier pleading age and infirmity. The senior priest present was Father Alexander McCarron, parish priest of Glendermott (Waterside). He was then aged 34, a native of Derry and a former pupil of Foyle College, and was planning to open a new church in the Waterside. His first task was to explain the departure of his bishop from the dining room. "The venerable prelate", he stated, "whose health has been drunk with so much enthusiasm, advanced as he is in years (he was 75) has been obliged to leave the room." The speech continued for longer than expected and the chairman, Sir Robert Ferguson, had to intervene.[31]It is in connection with the Mulgrave banquet that we first become aware of Peter McLaughlin's health and aging problems. On 9 April 1837, he began to think seriously of writing to his agent in Rome, Paul Cullen, rector of the Irish college, asking him to have a coadjutor appointed.

COLERAINE DISPUTE

Then came the painful matter of Coleraine (the town centre, east bank). For a great many years, probably the whole of the 18th century, perhaps as far back as the rising of 1641, Coleraine town and the area surrounding it had received pastoral care from the west bank of the Bann, through the ministry of the diocesan priests of Derry and sometimes Dominican friars. Co Derry was formerly known as the county of Coleraine. There were not enough priests in Down and Connor; they were overwhelmed by distance and danger and Catholics were too few and scattered over a large area for them to venture into or near Coleraine.[32]The question of diocesan jurisdiction came to formal decision when a Papal enquiry was held in October 1834, in Davock's Hotel, later the Clothworkers'Arms, on the west side of the bridge at Coleraine. Hostilities had progressed a little too far between the two dioceses. In May 1834 Bishop William Crolly of Down and Connor appointed Father John Green as parish priest of Bushmills and Portrush, where he should live. He should say Mass on Sunday in Coleraine, though not live there, for Dr Crolly was bringing the matter to Propaganda. Father Green brought the news to Paul Bradley, parish priest of Dunboe and Coleraine, who in turn informed Bishop Peter McLaughlin, who had appointed him in 1829. The bishop of Derry, then living in Moville, caused an interdict to be served on Father Green. Dr McLaughlin had dictated the interdict to Father Bradley. The interdict would extend to Portrush and Portstewart. In his evidence to the Enquiry Father Bradley was clear that the first interdict, given at Moville, was personal (relating to Green presumably). Dr McLaughlin then wrote to Paul Bradley to interdict the place. In this document the word *place* was substituted for persons in the first document conveying the interdict. Father Green spoke in his evidence at the Enquiry of Father Paul Bradley entering Coleraine and interdicting the place. The interdict was on paper, therefore certain, whereupon Father Green refrained from celebrating Mass. Dr Crolly said that if they interdicted Father Green he would interdict them. It was not at all edifying. Could Peter McLaughlin have been a trifle hasty in firing his interdicts across Lough Foyle? Could he have been hasty thirty years before in Kilbarron in issuing his excommunication against the unfortunate shoemaker, Philip Boyle?

Dr Crolly appealed to Propaganda in Rome, which on 5 August 1834 referred the matter to the Primate, Archbishop Thomas Kelly of Armagh. He set up an investigation, assisted by Bishop Brown of Kilmore, appearing for Bishop McLaughlin, and Bishop Higgins of Ardagh, selected by Dr Crolly. It was a thorough investigation with a mass of

documentary papers. The witnesses were thirteen clergymen and seventeen laymen of both dioceses. A key document used by Bishop Crolly and Father Green was the Taxation of Pope Nicholas dated 1306. The witnesses gave fascinating evidence, presenting a picture of life in the lower Bann area in the eighteenth century. Evidence at the Enquiry appeared to show that Derry priests indeed did pastoral work in Coleraine (east bank) in the eighteenth century, but with the permission of the bishop of Down and Connor: it was deputed jurisdiction. A delightful remark concerns Portrush. A priest called Peter McMullan, PP of Rasharkin, made an unusual comment about Portrush. "He could not say Mass in Portrush; how could he? there was only one Catholic in it, and she was married to a Protestant". A key conversation had taken place during a walk in a field on 22 June 1784 between the bishops of Down and Connor and Derry. Dr Hugh McMullan, bishop of Down and Connor, granted leave to Bishop Philip McDevitt of Derry for the priests of Derry to administer Coleraine sub conditione, *salvo suo jure*. Dr McMullan, confessing that he was a timid, nervous and peaceful man, was unwilling to vindicate his claim to authority in the town. Dr Crolly, following him in the see, had no such hesitations. Michael (O') Kane aged 84, never heard that any priest of Down and Connor ever exercised parochial jurisdiction in Coleraine; when he went into that side he was glad to get his heels out of that place. A memorable story relates that Dr Crolly four years before asked Dan O'Kane to state conscientiously to what diocese Coleraine belonged; Mr O'Kane replied, "It entirely belongs to you, my Lord, but I will keep it from you if I can". The decree from Rome was issued on 26 January 1835, declaring that the parish of Coleraine belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Connor. The conflict came to a peaceful conclusion. At the opening of a Catholic church in Coleraine (east bank) in 1840 bishop John McLaughlin of Derry, successor of Peter of that name, was present, marking a reconciliation, though the parish priest of St John's parish was not. When Dr Bernard O'Kane attended the opening of the present St Malachy's church in Coleraine in 1937 he is said to have remarked, perhaps ruefully, that "the Derry priests did not make a good case in 1834".

Peter McLaughlin's health was now very poor. He has been waiting for the Pope to send him a bull, approving the appointment of a coadjutor for him, an assistant bishop with the right of succession.[33] The parish priests of the diocese met in conference, probably in Long Tower church, to nominate a coadjutor bishop for consideration by Rome. John McLaughlin, nephew of Peter, was appointed coadjutor bishop of the diocese.[34] Brian Bonner, author of a history of the diocese, asserts that the new bishop's uncle Peter disapproved of the new appointment. "The new prelate was the nephew of his predecessor, who used his influence without avail to prevent the appointment"[35] He provides no evidence, however. The Holy See "appointed him as coadjutor bishop with right of succession on 28 February 1837" [36] The day before the episcopal ordination the local member of Parliament, the Right Honourable Geo R Dawson, sent a letter to the Right Rev Dr McLaughlin RC Bishop of Derry: "I regret that I shall not be able to attend the interesting ceremony tomorrow for the consecration of your nephew as bishop". The Londonderry Standard published the letter and carried in its next issue an acknowledgment of the £10 by Rev N O'Kane, who was administrator of Templemore [37] Soon Father Neal O'Kane, Administrator of the city parish, was appointed to Cappagh as parish priest. At the banquet offered as a send-off for Neal O'Kane there is no mention of the diocesan bishop. He was unable to attend because of his state of health[38].

CONTESTED BURIAL

In the affair of the burial in the Protestant Cathedral he had to apologise for a misjudgement in which his nephew was involved. A Catholic lady, Mrs Cathcart, had died, a former Protestant. Her family requested that she might be buried in the cemetery of St Columb's Cathedral. Dean Thomas B Gough sent to her son-in-law a message refusing the request and warning of prosecution. The Londonderry Standard reports that on Sunday 14 January "at about half-past three o'clock the funeral made its appearance – a pioneer band of about thirty most desperate-looking characters marching in advance – followed at a short distance by the Titular Roman Catholic Bishop and Priests Monaghan and Dempsey. They entered the Cathedral graveyard and after the consecration of the ground and the sprinkling of holy water on the grave, Priest Monaghan proceeded to invest himself with some sash or cincture, and to perform Mass in the Latin tongue. After this he requested the concourse that attended the funeral to say a paternoster and two ave marias for the benefit of the deceased" The Titular bishop mentioned was John McLaughlin, the coadjutor. The Standard newspaper wrote angrily at much length and on many occasions about this desecration of the graveyard. Eventually a brief letter was sent to Lord Mulgrave, the Lord Lieutenant, who had received complaints from Dean Gough. Signed by J McLaughlin and dated 19 February 1838, it read: "I am directed by the Right Rev Dr McLaughlin to acknowledge receipt of your communication … and to assure his Excellency that in future no clergyman over whom he has any control shall violate the law'. The matter was debated in the House of Commons. Lord Morpeth for the government uttered soothing words. "A letter had been sent to Dr McLaughlin warning him and his clergy against any repetition of the offence." The matter finished there.

BURSARIES

James McLaughlin recalls a less known side of Peter McLaughlin's character. While bishop of the dioceses of Raphoe and Derry, two dioceses of some poverty and low revenue, he spent nearly £2,000 in establishing collegiate bursaries for both dioceses. After his death the newspapers reported that he gave thirty shillings every week to be distributed among the poor of Derry[39] .

The bishop's death took place on 18 August 1840 in the 84th year of his age and thirty-eighth of his episcopacy. *The Londonderry Journal* printed a long and admiring obituary in the most purple and mandarin prose. The Mayor, Sir Robert Ferguson, Bart. MP. attended the funeral accompanied by countless thousands[40] He is buried in Long Tower North graveyard, Derry. The modest inscription on his headstone reads: *Jesus Master of the Apostles have mercy on the soul of Thy servant Most Rev Peter McLaughlin, Lord Bishop of Derry who died 18th August 1840 and lies buried beneath.*

[1] Londonderry Journal, 28th August 1840

[2] James Mc Laughlin, Brief of Memoirs of the Bishops of Derry,(Dublin 1879), p. 67

[3] Edward Daly and Kieran Devlin. *The Clergy of the Diocese of Derry, an Index,* (Dublin, 1997)

[4] Mc Laughlin, *Brief Memoirs*, p.68

[5] Mc Laughlin, *Brief Memoirs,* p.68

6 Mc Laughlin, *Brief Memoirs,* p.68
7 Mc Laughlin, *Brief Memoirs,* p.68
8 Daly and Devlin, *The Clergy of the diocese of Derry,* p. 13
9 Maguire, *History of the Diocese of Raphoe,* Vol. 1, p. 519
10 James McLaughlin, *Brief Memoirs,*
11 Maguire, *History of the Diocese of Raphoe*.
12 Maguire, *History of the Diocese of Raphoe*.
13 M.J. Brennan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*.
14 Maguire, *History of the Diocese of Raphoe*, p. 12 ff.
15 Maguire, *History of the Diocese of Raphoe*.
16 Maguire, *History of the Diocese of Raphoe*.
17 Maguire, History of the Diocese of Raphoe.
18 Seán McMahon, *A History of County Derry,* (Dublin, 2004)
19 Daly and Devlin, *The Clergy of the Diocese of Derry,* p.13
20 James McLaughlin, *Brief Memoirs,* p. 68
21 James McLaughlin, *Brief Memoirs,* p. 68
22 Daly and Devlin, *The Clergy of the Diocese of Derry,* p.159.
23 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 24 October 1829
24 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 4 November 1829
25 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 20 February 1830
26 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 22 January 1831.
27 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 30 November 1836
28 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 22 January 1831
29 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 6 September 1834.
30 Daly and Devlin, *The Clergy of the Diocese of Derry,* p.122.
31 *Londonderry Sentinel*, 26 September 1835
32 James O'Laverty, *Down and Connor*, (Dublin 1887), p. 32 ff.
33 Archives of the Irish College, Rome (Thanks to Vera Orschel)
34 *Irish Catholic Directory.*
35 Brian Bonner, *An Outline history of the Diocese of Derry*, (Limerick, 1995).
36 Daly and Devlin, *The Clergy of the Diocese of Derry.*
37 *Londonderry Standard*. 29 July 1837
38 *Londonderry Journal*, 10 October 1837
39 James McLaughlin, *Brief Memoirs*.
40 *Londonderry Journal*, 25 August 1840

Fr. Philip Donnelly is a priest of the Diocese of Derry and was born in Portrush. He has contributed to *Derriana*, the Journal of the Derry Diocesan Historical Society and has writen several books on local history, including *A History of the Parish of ArdstrawWest and Castlederg (1978).*

CUAIRT AN ARD EASBAIG CRÓC AR THÍR CHONAILL (1891)

An Dr. Oirmh Pádraig Ó'Baoighill

Is iomaí duine a thug cuairt ar Pháirc an Chrócaigh uair éigin ina shaol, ach sin is uilig, tá mórán mór daoine ar an ghannchuid ó thaobh eolais faoi an fhear a bhfuil an pháirc iomraitheach sin ainmnithe ina dhiaidh. Rugadh Thomas William Croke i gCondae Chorcaigh sa bhliain 1823. [1]William Cróc ab ainm do athair an easbaig agus Isabella Plummer a bhí ar a mháthair agus ba Protastúnach ise. Tógadh na gasúraí sa teaghlach ina gCaitlicigh agus na girseachaí ina bProtastúnaigh. Dúirt sé fhéin agus é ina Ard Easbag ag an am "Both my sisters were for a long time Protestants, our mother having been one until a few years before her death" [2] Rinne sé staidéar don tsagartóireacht sa Fhrainc, sa Bheilg agus san Iodáil. Ina dhiaidh sin chaith sé thar fiche bliain mar shagart in Éirinn. Sa bhliain 1870 agus é ag freastail ar Chéad Chomhairle na Vatacáine, ceapadh ina easbag é ar Dheoise Auckland sa tSéalainn Nua. Sa bhliain 1875, tháinig sé arais go hÉirinn agus é ceaptha mar Ard Easbag ar Ard-dheoise Chaisil. Bhí baint mhór aige le Cumann na Talún agus bhí dlúth-cheangal idir é fhéin agus C.S. Parnell agus Mícheal Dáibhéid. Bhí sé fosta ar dhuine de chéad phatrúin Chumann Lúthchleas Gael.

Ba Náisiúntóir mór a bhí ann agus ba cara é leis An Easbag Pádraig Ó Domhnaill, Easbag Rath Bhoth. Ba fear cróga é Cróc a sheas i dtólamh ar shon an chirt agus chothrom na féinne. Ní iontas ar bith mar sin go raibh sé go minic in achrann le Rialtas na Breataine agus fosta le lucht ceannais na Róimhe. Bhí spéis ag Cróc i gcúrsaí polaitíochta agus ghlac sé suim faoi leith i gcás na dtionóntaithe in Éirinn a raibh Tiarnaí Talún na linne a ndíshealbhú as a gcuid tailte. Is dócha gur seo ceann de na fáthanna go dtug sé cuairt ar Dhún na nGall sa bhliain 1891. Bhí dáimh mhór ag Cróc le muintir Thír Chonaill agus bhí trua mhór aige díofa sin a bhí ag fuilstin de bharr tromaíocht na dTiarnaí Talún. Ar an 12ú de mhí Eanair 1889, sheol sé litir chuig an Easbag Pádraig Ó Domhnaill ina raibh £50 le cuidiú a thabhairt do na daoine a díshealbhaíodh i gChloich Cheann Fhaola. 'Seo cuid den méid a dúirt sé ina litir:

> *..there is no land on the face of the habitable globe except unhappy Ireland in which such scandalous, heartrending, and unchristian scenes could take place without any approach to impunity, or without much fierce contention and even bloodshed.[3] Sending the armed forces of the Crown to tear down the roof-trees and demolish the humble dwellings of the poor, for the benefit of a pampered few, appears to me to be a sin that cries to Heaven for vengeance…[4]*

I litir a scríobh an Dr. Pádraig Ó Domhnaill, Easbag Rath Bhoth ar an 15ú Eanair 1889, thug sé buíochas don Ard Easbag Cróc ar shon an airgid a sheol sé chuig Pobal an Fhál Charraigh le tacaíocht agus cuidiú a thabhairt díofa ina gcruachás. Ní amháin go raibh Ó Domhnaill buíoch do Chróc ach tugann sé léargas ar an ardmheas a bhí aige air fosta.



Doctor Croke

> *Since the first mention of your name I can call to memory, your voice, your pen and purse, have been equally at the command of religion and country.* [5.]

Ní iontas mór ar bith mar sin go dtug an tArd Easbag Cróc a aghaidh ar Chondae Dhún na nGall ag deireadh mhí Iúil na bliana 1891. Chuir sé tús lena thuras nuair a thaisteal sé ar an traen ó Bhaile Átha Cliath agus shroich sé an tSrath Bán ag 3.17 i.n. Déardaoin 30ú Iúil 1891. Ag taisteal ina chuideachta bhí Uachtarán Choláiste Phádraig, Má Nuat, An Monsignor Dé Brún agus fosta sagart paróiste An Chaisil i gCo. Thiobard Árainn, an Sár-Oirmhinneach Kinnane. [6] Bhí scaifte mór ar an tSrath Bán le fáilte a chur rompu agus ina dhiaidh sin thug siad a n-aghaidh ar Leitir Ceanainn le tús a chur lena dturas a mhairfeadh seachtain agus corradh. Bhí an tArd Easbag agus na daoine a bhí ina chuideacha ag fanacht i dTeach an Easbaig Uí Domhnaill i Leitir Ceanainn. Nuair a shroich Cróc Leitir Ceanainn, bhí Banna Ceoil Fliút Thír Chonaill ansin le fáilte a chur roimhe agus i gcuideachta na cuideachta bhí an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill, John Dillon agus William O'Brien. Labhair an tArd Easbag Cróc leis an tslua mhór a bhí i láthair agus chuir an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill fíor-chaoin fáilte roimhe go Tír Chonaill.

Maidin Dé hAoine thug an tArd Easbag Cróc, in éineacht lena chairde agus fosta an

tEasbag Ó Domhnaill a n-aghaidh ar Ghartán, an áit a bhfaca Naomh Colmcille solas lae don chead uair agus ina dhiaidh sin chuaigh siad go Doire Bheatha. Ach nuair a chuaigh siad chomh fada le Mín a'Lábháin, bhi scaifte ollmhór ansin le fáilte a chuir rompu. Thug Cróc buíochas mór as an fháilte chroíúil a cuireadh roimhe. [7] Dé Domhnaigh an 2ú lá de Lúnasa thug an tArd Easbag agus a chomhluadar a n-aghaidh ar Iar-Thuaisceart na Condae, agus bhí an Dr. Maguire as Coláiste Mhá Nuat leo fosta. Casadh pobal agus sagairt Ghaoth Dobhair orthu píosa ó na Doirí Beaga. Bhí mhór-shiúl de 3,000 duine ann agus bhí banna ceoil mar pháirt den mhór-shiúl a chuaigh a fhad le Teach Pobail Dhoirí Beaga. I measc na gcainteoirí bhí an tArd Easbag Cróc, an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill, agus sagart Paróiste Ghaoth Dobhair, an tAthair Séamas Mac Pháidín. Cuireadh fáilte iontach roimh na cuairteoirí agus le teacht na h-oíche, bhí an áit lasta le tinte-cnámh. Ar maidin Dé Luain, 3ú Lúnasa chuaigh Dr. Cróc agus a chomhluadar ar cuairt go dtí na Rossa. Nuair a chuaigh siad trasna ar Dhroichead Chroithlí, bhí muintir na Rossann cruinnithe ansin le fáilte a chur rompu. Bhí banna ceoil Cheann Caslach ag seinm ceoil agus lean an mór-shiúl de 3,000 duine ar aghaidh go hAnagaire, áit ar labhair an Dr. Cróc leis an tslua.

Thug muintir Rann na Feirste a dtaispéantas féin agus bhog an slua ansin i dtreo Ailt a' Chorráin. Chuir an Sagart Bernard Walter fáilte roimh na cuairteoirí. Bhí scaifte mór i láthair agus nuair a d'ith na cuairteoirí greim bídh, thug siad a n-aghaidh ar an Chlochán Liath. Ba mar seo a rinne an Derry Journal tuairisciú ar an ócáid:

> *Amid the gathering shadows of evening the visitors were now taken possession of by the Dungloe contingent, who deployed in an apparently endless procession, escorted them with bands and banners to that historic town, every window of which was a sheet of light, as the enthusiastic throng, now lit with the glare of numerous torches, poured into its main thoroughfare.* [8]

Chuir an Sagart Paróiste, Hugh Gallagher na cuairteoirí in aithne don phobal. An oíche sin d'fhan an Dr. Cróc agus a chomh-chuairteoirí ag Sagart na Paróiste. I ndiaidh am dinnéara lá arna mhárach thug siad a n-aghaidh ar na Gleanntaí, baile dúchais an Easbaig Uí Dhomhnaill. Níl sé ráite 'sna tuairiscí cén fhad a stad siad ar na Gleanntaí ach go dtug siad cuairt ar bhaile an Easbaig Uí Dhomhnaill i gCill Riain ar a mbealach go Árd a'Rátha. Bhí baile Árd a'Rátha gléasta don ócáid stairiúil seo, ach níor fhan na cuairteoirí ró-fhada, agus thug an tArd Easbag a bheannacht do na daoine agus ansin d'imigh ar a bhealach chun na Carraige. Ní amháin gur cuireadh fíor-chaoin fáilte rompu ar an Charraig, ach rinne pobal na gCealla Beaga amhlaidh nuair a chuaigh sé fríd a mbaile dúchais. Ba ar an Domhnach an 9ú lá de Lúnasa, a thug An Dr. Cróc cuairt ar na Frasa. Bhí scaifte oll-mhór i láthair ag Teach an Phobail agus b'éigean don mhórchuid acu fanacht taobh amuigh. Dúirt an Dr. Maguire an tAifreann ag an mheán lae, agus rinne an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill seanmóir ar shoiscéal an lae. Bhí mórshiúl acu i ndiaidh an Aifrinn agus chuir banna ceoil Thamhnach an tSalainn an ceol ar fáil. 'Seo mar a rinne an Derry Journal cur síos ar an fháilte a cuireadh roimh an Dr. Cróc:

> *The great enthusiasm of the people surpassed all description, such an honest outburst of welcome must have touched the warm heart of the patriotic archbishop.* [9]

Ba é an Sagart James Gallagher, riarthóir ar Pharoiste na bhFrasa a chuir an tArd Easbag in aithne don tslua. I ndiaidh don Ard Easbag labhairt leis an phobal, labhair an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill, An Dr. McMaguire, An Mgr. Dé Brún agus an Dr. Kinnane as Caiseal. Ar a 8 a chlog tráthnóna dfhág an tArd Easbag agus a chairde slán ag na Frasa agus thug a n-aghaidh ar Bhaile Dhún na nGall. Bhí Baile Dhún na nGall ar chomhchéim leis an uile áit eile dá dtug sé cuairt orthu. Bhí sé thart fán 9 a chlog san oíche nuair a bhain na cuairteoirí an baile amach. Bhí banna ceoil ag tosach an mhórshiúil agus nuair a chuaigh an scaifte i dtreo Teach an tSagairt, bhí tinte-cnámh ar lasadh. Bhí thart fá 5,000 duine i láthair agus chuir an Sagart Ó Casaide, an Dr. Cróc in aithne do tslua. I measc na ndaoine a labhair ar an ócáid seo bhí Cróc é fhéin and fosta an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill. Ba i Srath an Urláir a chuir an tArd Easbag deireadh lena thuras ar Dheoise Rath Bhotha. Dá réir na dtuairiscí ba i Srath an Urláir an fháilte a ba mó a cuireadh roimhe go dtí seo. Seo an cuntas a thug an Derry Journal ar chúrsaí i Srath an Urláir ar an Luan 10ú Lúnasa:

> *The train arrived in the afternoon, and, as his Grace and fellow-travellers stepped on the platform; ringing cheers rent the air. After the distinguished party were conducted to a wagonette by the popular pastor of Stranorlar, the Rev. Charles McGlynn, the people headed by the bands, formed into a solid mass and proceeded to the picturesque grounds of the school house. His Grace then drove through the principal streets of Stranorlar and Ballybofey and was cordially greeted along the way.* [10]

Bhí thart fá 10,000 duine ar an láthair agus ba seo cuid den méid a bhí le rá ag an Dr. Cróc leis an tslua:

> *Men of Tyrconnell, it affords me very much pleasure at meeting you and seeing you meet me in your thousands as you have done here to-day, and I must say that the happiest nine days of my life I have spent seeing the grand and magnificent scenery that your old county yields.*[11]

Ansin le críoch oifigiúil a chur leis an turas stairiúil seo, thug an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill buíochas don Dr. Cróc agus fosta do na mílte daoine a chuaigh amach ina airicis le fáilte agus meas a thaispeáint don Ard Easbag:

> *If I am not mistaken, his visit will not only serve as a pleasant recollection to himself, but also prove a lasting benefit to our struggling people. He saw the descendants of the men who once occupied the fertile plains that surround Stranorlar. He saw the descendants of those who were driven back to the hill sides and mountains of Donegal, which they now have made somewhat fertile through their own sweat and labour, and from which they have been, in many cases, driven out by cruel oppression. I can tell you that his heart was moved with generous sympathy towards those men, and he will do his best to see their wrongs righted.*[12]

Nuair a chríochnaigh an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill a chuid cainte, chuaigh an Dr. Cróc agus a chomhluadar go dtí stáisiún na traenach agus é ar a bhealach go dtí an tStrath Bán agus ó sin ar aghaidh go Baile Átha Cliath. Tugann turas an Dr. Cróc ar ár gCondae dhúcháis le

taispeáint dúinn an meas iontach a bhí ag pobal na Condae seo air. Chuir a chuairt an pobal ar an eolas fosta fán obair fhiúntach a bhí idir lámha aige ag iarraidh tarrtháil a thabhairt ar dhaoine a bhí ag fuilstin faoi réim Rialtas Shasana. Léirigh an fháilte oll-mhór a cuireadh roimhe i ngach ceantar dá ndeachaigh sé go raibh croí agus spiorad i bPobal Thír Chonaill agus go raibh dílseacht iontu dá dtír dhúchais, dá gcreideamh agus dá laoch a linne, an Dr. Cróc.

TAGAIRTÍ

1 Tierney, M. *Croke of Cashel, the Life of Archbishop Thomas William Croke, 1823-1902,* (Dublin, 1976) , p. 3.

2 Croke to Cardinal Manning, Croke Papers, 21 November 1888, Cashel Diocesan Archives.

3 *Derry Journal,* 16 January 1889

4 Ibid.,

5 Ibid., 18 January 1889.

6 Ibid., 31 July 1891.

7 Ibid., 3 August 1891.

8 Ibid., 7 August 1891.

9 Ibid., 12 August 1891.

10 Ibid.,

11 Ibid.,

12 Ibid.,

Tá an Dr. Pádraig Ó Baoighill ina shéiplíneach i bPobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair. As Baile na Finne é ó dhúchas. Fuair sé a chuid oideachais ollscolaíochta i gColáiste Phádraig, Má Nuat agus in Ollscoil Uladh, áit a bronnadh an chéim D. Phil. air sa bhliain 2003.

Photo – Author.

'A WORLD APART': PLEASURES OF THE ELITE IN DERRY AND DONEGAL 1770-1820

Dr. Nuala McAllister

As the 39 inch Polish dwarf and self-styled 'Count' Boris Boruwlaski made his way across the Foyle towards Derry in July 1798, he was looking forward to an enthusiastic turnout for his concert in the Town Hall. In the event, his guitar playing - and no doubt the novelty of his size - proved such an attraction that he gave a second concert for his audience, principally the upper-classes of Derry and Donegal who thronged the theatre for amusement, entertainment and social contact.[1] At this time most of Ireland was gripped by the turmoil of the 1798 uprising but in Derry, thanks to the presence of a strong military garrison, theatre and concert life continued, unaffected by the troubles elsewhere.

Social entertainments had reached a peak in Derry between 1770 and 1820, with theatre, concerts, balls, assemblies, coteries and performances by music societies. Cultural events were held in four principal venues: the Town Hall [or Exchange, as it was often known], two successive theatres, and Neilson's Hotel in Pump Street. *The Londonderry Journal* provided extensive detail of the social entertainments on offer, in addition to notices about shipping and trade on which the city's prosperity rested. It also provided advertising space for visiting performers and music tutors.

After 1820, however, cultural life within Derry changed: there was a marked decline in upper-class patronage of the arts as the elite retired to their country estates and sought their amusements elsewhere. For a time theatre and musical entertainments decreased in number, variety and frequency until revived by the emergent middle classes during the later 1830s.[2] Derry's 'golden age' of elite entertainments ended when the upper-classes moved from their Georgian townhouses to their country houses in Donegal, leaving behind empty theatre boxes and unfilled concert seats.

THREE VENUES: TOWN HALL, SHIPQUAY AND ARTILLERY LANE THEATRES

In the years between 1770 and 1820 Derry had a thriving theatrical life, with three consecutive venues for drama, music and variety performances: the Town Hall, and the Shipquay and the Artillery Lane Theatres. The Town Hall, centrally located in Diamond Square, was an impressive building. It had an elegant upstairs room supported by pillars, in which balls and civic dinners were held. Drama had been performed in the Town Hall since at least 1741, when the Smock Alley Theatre Company from Dublin presented plays in the upper room. Thomas Ryder and his Dublin Company were early visitors to Derry, coming to the city during the winter of 1769-70 for a four month run. Included in this troupe was the versatile actor and singer, John O'Keeffe, who delighted Derry audiences with his songs and improvisations. He also entertained the city with one of its first local

pantomimes, *Harlequin in Derry*, an adaptation of his earlier comedy, *Harlequin in Waterford.* [3]

THE SHIPQUAY THEATRE 1774-1778

In the summer of 1774 the *Journal* advertised a new theatre 'soon to be opened' on the Shipquay and promised ' a company of players.... superior to any that have performed in this city for several years'. This early promise was fulfilled: for the next 15 years the Shipquay Theatre provided lengthy seasons of varied entertainment. It normally opened on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays during the theatre season, but during Race and Assizes weeks, performances were held nightly to entertain the gentry who flocked to the city from Donegal and the surrounding countryside. The theatre building was a simple wooden structure located on the site of the present Guildhall; it consisted of a single auditorium and was described by the *Journal* as having 'pit and gallery laid together'. This theatre did lack the centrality and grandeur of the Town Hall, but it attracted patronage from the gentry, garrison and upper-classes. One notable patron was the Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, Frederick Hervey. The Earl Bishop, home for a short period from his European travels, attended performances in 1783 with an entourage of friends and supporters.[5]

The Shipquay Theatre was a collaboration between local builder William Stewart and Michael Atkins, a Belfast theatre manager, the beginning of a theatre link between Belfast and Derry which was to endure for over one hundred years.[6] The opening night on 8 August 1774 featured George Farquhar's play, *The Constant Couple* as the main feature, and such was the rush expected for admission that theatre-goers were warned that 'no gold coin would be changed at the door'.[7]The choice of this particular play was significant: the theatre-goers would have appreciated the staging of Farquhar's comedy as a tribute to his Derry origins in much the same way as audiences appreciated the premiere of Brian Friel's *Translations* in the Guildhall in September 1980.

Atkins' troupe consisted of twelve players: seven men and five ladies, which was fairly typical of the smaller eighteenth century touring companies. In June 1802, the *Journal* complimented him upon his 'conduct ... both in his private and public character', which had earned him 'the approbation of the polite and generous audience of Derry'.[8]

DONEGAL DRAMATIST: CHARLES MACKLIN OF CULDAFF

The first season lasted almost five months, between 8 August and 26 December 1774, with nightly performances during Race Week in August when the city was swelled with the fashionable crowds who attended this premier social event of the season. Each successive season welcomed more plays: dramas by Moliere and Milton were popular, but Shakespeare's plays were particular favourites, with *The Merchant of Venice* in 1782 and *Hamlet, Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet* during the 1783 summer season alone.[9] 'Love a La Mode', the best-known play by Culdaff-born playwright and actor, Charles Macklin was also popular and performances of it were always received with great acclaim by Derry and Donegal audiences. In a review of the play in March 1803, for example, the

press noted that 'the lovers of the Drama received considerable pleasure at our Theatre… with the contrasted Characters of the Irishman, Scotchman, Jew and New Market Jockey [being]… most happily personified'. The obvious enthusiasm of the audience for their local playwright was rewarded with a repeat performance of the 'Farce' on the following evening, 23rd March 1803.[10] Macklin's two better known plays, '*Love a La Mode*' and '*The Man of the World*' remained in the Derry theatrical repertoire well into the nineteenth century.

All these productions were ad hoc musical versions of the plays, since contemporary legislation forbade the performance of purely dramatic performances in theatres other than in Drury Lane and Covent Garden in London.[11] Ballad Opera was perennially popular. There was the first advertised staging of *The Beggar's Opera* in Derry on 18 August 1779 and many performances of *The Recruiting Sergeant*, *The Deserter* and other productions with a military theme, which appealed to members of the garrison. Copies of the libretti of selected operas were available for six and a half pence in George Douglas' bookshop in the Diamond. Douglas, proprietor of *The Londonderry Journal*, also sold music paper and books, German flutes and opera glasses, and was the first known music retailer in the city. [12]

The Shipquay Theatre was profitable. Hence in the 1782 season, there was competition between two companies, Michael Atkins' and Myrton Hamilton's, for tenancy of the theatre during the lucrative summer season. In the end a compromise was reached, with Hamilton's Company occupying the theatre during June, when Race Week was held, and Atkins having an extended autumn season between August and early December 1782. For this latter run season tickets were offered at a guinea each, guaranteeing admission to all performances, except the 'Benefits'. Since admission to the theatre had been set at a uniform price of 2 shillings in 1774 and had risen only slightly to 2s 2d by 1782, Atkins' subscription ticket offered a very good bargain for Derry theatre patrons. The theatre continued to make money: during the month of June 1783, for example, Atkins' share of the theatre takings amounted to twenty five pounds.[13]

A gallery was added to the theatre in the early 1780s but proved to be structurally unsound, as in the autumn of 1783 a weak beam in the roof rendered the building unsafe. The theatre was closed for two weeks while the fault was rectified and the building was declared 'ready for business' on 27th October when the actors reassembled to resume the season which lasted until February 1784. A travelling actor, John Bernard, who had performed there in 1783, had dismissed the theatre as a 'temporary erection', so the fabric of the building was obviously not in good condition. The danger of the theatre becoming permanently unsafe no doubt prompted Michael Atkins to look for new premises in Derry. The quayside was increasingly congested as Derry's shipping trade grew apace and it was no longer a suitable location for the city theatre. In May 1786, therefore, Atkins announced that he was intending to open 'a new theatre on an elegant plan' which could accommodate all of 'the polite audience' of Derry and Donegal.[14] It was another three years before this theatre opened, but in the meantime Atkins continued to devise attractions to retain the sizeable audience which he had already drawn to the Shipquay Theatre. During the 1785-86 season he offered 'twenty transferable' subscription tickets, albeit more expensive at one and a half guineas, but for a season extending from November to May. [15]

THE ARTILLERY LANE THEATRE 1789-1833

This theatre became Derry's most popular, successful and profitable theatre until the New Royal Opera House opened in August 1877. It was located in a corner site in Artillery Lane at the junction of Widow's Row and London Street and quite close to the houses of the gentry in Pump Street. The theatre was quite small - only 70 feet long by 40 feet broad by 23 feet high - and reputedly 'could not have held many', but contemporary audiences preferred small auditoria with an intimate atmosphere where they could comfortably view their friends and acquaintances nearby. Tickets for the theatre could now be purchased at the newly established box office in George Douglas's bookshop in Diamond Square.

The 1798 and 1799 theatre seasons were particularly interesting because of the link between the theatre company and the local garrison. The Artillery Lane Theatre remained open for business while the rest of Ulster was experiencing the political uncertainty of the 1798 rebellion, and the increased garrison strength in Derry was a bonus for the enterprising theatre management. As Belfast actors were reluctant to travel to Derry to perform, officers from the garrison were invited to step into the breach and undertake the 'male leads' in some productions. In January 1798 the officers donned theatrical costumes to appear in the comedy *The Wheel of Fortune* and in April 1798 the actors and officers were further joined by several 'Gentlemen of the City' in performances of *The Beaux Stratagem* and *No Song, No Supper*. The press commented that this particular evening was attended by 'the most brilliant audience ever witnessed in this place[16]'. The services of the garrison were further engaged in January 1799 when the French Band of the Somerset Regiment contributed musical interludes in the Artillery Lane Theatre.[17]

Although theatre audiences in the period were derived principally from the upper-classes of Derry and Donegal, there were frequent reports of rowdy behaviour during performances. Press reports indicate that riotous behaviour, insults, jibes and the firing of missiles were common, as in theatres elsewhere. In 1802, for example, a theatre-goer was fined two guineas by the Mayor for throwing a bottle from the gallery onto the stage. In 1819 the *Journal* identified the occupants of the gallery as trouble-makers and one of the principal offenders as 'the son of a respectable inhabitant who boasts that it is fashionable to row in Dublin, where he has lately resided'. The *Journal* suggested remedies to the problem: that the prices of pit and gallery should be reversed and that the gallery should be opened as a 'middle lettice' at the pit price. This was adopted by the theatre management for the remainder of the 1819 season and for two subsequent seasons[18].

In spite of this temporary change in nomenclature, the layout of the Artillery Lane Theatre changed little during its lifespan, with the original three-tier system of boxes, pit and gallery remaining unaltered. Tallow, and then wax candles were used to illuminate the auditorium, as gas lighting was not introduced until 1832. Like its predecessor on the Shipquay, the Artillery Lane Theatre was heated by fires lit in advance of the opening. A press advertisement in August 1807 assured patrons that 'Fires have been kept in the Theatre this week past'.[19] The theatre management often advertised substantial 'improvements' and 'new comforts' for their patrons. In July 1810 the theatre underwent 'some alteration and entire new painting and decoration', and in 1820 it was subject to a 'complete repair' before re-opening for Race Week.[20]

Performances at the Artillery Lane Theatre were distinguished by detailed press coverage, which combined with locally produced handbills, provided a wealth of information for Derry theatre-goers. The 1808 handbill illustrates the detail provided which includes expected controversies over songs requested by patrons. And from 1815 onwards the *Journal* had a weekly column of theatre previews and reviews.

The Artillery Lane Theatre attracted many celebrity actors and musicians. Tom King, the London comedian, appeared in June 1791; the singer Charles Edward Horn sang at the theatre [and also gave a concert in ‘Coterie Rooms’ of the King's Arms Hotel] in 1819. A troop of horses provided equestrian displays in the theatre in April 1825 and were accompanied by ‘a slack and tight rope-walker’ performing acrobatic feats. Many patrons were disappointed in being unable to gain admittance to this performance, as the ‘gallery overflowed at an early hour’.[21]

CONCERT LIFE

As in most Irish provincial towns in the later eighteenth century, 'Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' were comparatively infrequent, most music being performed instead in the theatre between the acts of plays and as 'after-pieces'. But there were a few concerts, more popular perhaps for their novelty value than musical quality. Press advertisements describe a succession of visiting musical oddities, such as a singing and dancing dwarf and giant duo in 1777, a musical child prodigy in 1782, a 'Lapland Bee-keeper, Don Diego' who provided a 'Grand Medley of Entertainments ... with Good Music' in 1784, and a group of gymnasts who 'played select Airs and Tunes on the Much Admired Musical Glasses' in 1791.[22] There were at least ten visits of this kind between 1772 and 1800. Count Boruwlaski made two separate visits to Derry in 1796 and 1798. His first visit was advertised as being ‘under the patronage of the garrison’, when he played the guitar, sold his memoirs and promised to ‘exhibit’ himself. Boruwlaski fell within this category of 'novelty' musical performer, with audiences perhaps drawn by tales that the diminutive musician’s normal-sized wife would perch him upon the mantelpiece when he displeased her.[23]Visits of this type had declined somewhat by the beginning of the nineteenth century, but from time to time a few 'novelty' performers still appeared, as in October 1822 when Signor Rivolta advertised 'An Extraordinary Vocal and Instrumental Concert' in which he played 'on eight instruments at one time'.[24] Concerts were typically hybrid entertainments. They sometimes included dance routines, as in a concert in Neilson's Hotel in January 1800 by the York Band which included a 'Clog Dance' in 'Dresses Suitable’.[25]

In the years between 1800 and 1820 there was a gradual increase in the number and musical quality of concerts, with visits by several celebrated musicians. Mr Haigh, a theatre musician and talented cellist, gave concerts in the Town Hall in 1800 and 1802, on nights when the theatre was closed, and Michael Lacy, a virtuoso violinist of Spanish parentage gave a concert in the Artillery Lane Theatre in November 1813.[26] Another theatre musician, James May, organized a series of concerts in early 1816 with performers 'brought from a distance and consequently attended with Great Expense'. He had engaged musicians from Belfast for two concerts in the Town Hall and a recital of 'sacred music' in St Columb’s Cathedral. This latter concert, on 1st February 1816, included the

earliest documented performance in Derry of excerpts from Handel's Messiah. Tickets for the concerts were expensive: at seven shillings, they were almost three times the price of theatre tickets. And to safeguard the outlay involved, May organized a committee of ‘local gentlemen to assist [him] in this novel and spirited attempt' to bring concert life to the city. [27] At this time May was a central figure in Derry's musical life, well known as both a theatre musician and as the music tutor to the young ladies of the Alexander Family of Boom Hall,to whom he dedicated his composition, 'The Fairy Bower Ballad’. He was also the conductor of Derry's second music society.

THE MUSIC SOCIETIES

There were two short lived music societies in Derry, both named ‘The Londonderry Musical Society'. The first society existed between February 1780 and February 1781, hosting four concerts in total for subscribers; concert-goers were advised that ‘tickets could not be purchased at the door’. The society consisted of 'gentlemen amateur' players led by their professional mainstay, John Kalener, a German musician who was then resident of Derry. In February 1781 Kalener suddenly announced that he had become ' desirous of returning to his own country', but was 'unable to go for want of money'. He organized a concert to raise funds for his travel and left Derry soon afterwards, his departure marking the end of a brief concert renaissance in the city.[28]

Again it was another outsider, the Glasgow musician James May, who organized and conducted Derry's second music society. Its first concert was held in spring 1817, followed by two further concerts in May 1818 and March 1819 and the net proceeds of all three concerts were donated to the 'Ladies' Penny Society'. Press reviews remarked that the concerts invariably ended with enthusiastic singing of *God Save the King*[29]. Sometime later in 1819 the second Londonderry Musical Society fell into abeyance when James May left the city to return to his native Glasgow. Musical life in the city then stagnated during the next three decades: Derry did not have another music society until the later 1840s.[30]

SOCIAL ENTERTAINMENTS

Social entertainments in Derry adhered to the provincial norm, with Balls, Assemblies, Coteries, Drums, Race meetings, and the annual Hunt Ball being the most popular elite entertainments. ‘Ordinaries and Assemblies’ were also held daily during Race Week. This social round was modelled upon the larger and grander events in the capitals, and cultural life in Derry was both a reflection and a microcosm of Dublin, with local audiences following the trends, habits, customs and fashions of the larger cities. Dramas were advertised 'As Performed recently in London and Dublin for 23 successive performances' and local haberdashers sold clothes which were modelled upon Dublin and London fashions.

The *Journal* had been only been published two months when a 'Public Ball' was advertised for 1st October 1772. It was organized by a Dublin dancing master, Mr Morris who promised 'Tea, Cakes and Cards' and performance of 'Part of a Play', followed by the

'Dance, to begin at six o'clock in the afternoon'. Tickets were 2s 2d for adults and 1s 1d for 'Young Masters and Misses.' The same edition of the *Journal* also carried an advertisement for a 'Charitable Assembly' on Monday 14th October, organized by local teacher, Reverend Mr Blackall for 'the Benefit of the Widow Dunlap'; the admission price was again 2s 2d.[31] Such events were typical of the smaller social functions which were held regularly during the winter months. The main venue for the smaller dances and assemblies was Neilson's Hotel. [This hotel later became The King's Arms Hotel, and after 1849, the Convent of Mercy.] The Town Hall was used for the larger and more prestigious balls, and as with the theatre, it was the upper-classes of Derry and Donegal and the Officers of the garrison who attended. Members of local families – the Ash, Ferguson, McCausland, Hart, Knox and Alexander families - were listed as stewards, supplemented by captains and officers from the garrison. Those stewarding or 'presiding' at the coteries and balls were sometimes described in the press as the 'Queen' and 'King', thus explaining the otherwise curious reference in the Ordnance Survey *Memoir* to the 'coteries, presided over by a King and Queen of the night [which] have now died away'[32].

Social entertainments were frequent and lively between 1770 and 1820, but particularly between 1798 and 1800. The increased garrison strength was reflected in a larger number of balls and coteries organized to entertain the regiments and to enable the captains and officers to mingle with the local young ladies. New pleasures were added, as in April 1800, when the Bishop's Gardens were opened during the summer months for 'Ladies and Gentlemen to walk in' for the subscription price of six shillings and sixpence. In response to this, a local commentator noted that the walls of Derry, 'once its strength' had now become 'its ornament' - a reference to the wide, fashionable promenade which they now provided for the 'fashion and beauty of the city'.[33] A circus was another new amusement which visited for the first time in August 1801. Philip Astley's Dublin-based circus troupe 'set up' in a timber yard on the quayside for eight days. Admission was 2s 2d (First Seats) and 1s 1d (Second Seats), roughly the same price as the theatre, but still beyond the financial reach of the lower classes as labourers in Derry only earned between 8d and 13d per day in 1802.[34]

THE MUSICIANS, SINGERS AND ACTORS

All these entertainments provided employment for musicians, but there is relatively little information about individual musicians who were rarely named in the press. Instead, editorials and reviews focussed upon the size and composition of the audience, with only passing reference to the musical accompaniment. From fragmentary reports it seems that theatre musicians in Derry were drawn from across the profession: itinerant performers, local church musicians, teachers and military bandsmen. Women alone were excluded from the ranks of the 'Theatre Band' before 1830. Atkins usually brought his Belfast Theatre Band with him, but it was quite small and normally restricted to only two or three players. Local professional musicians then augmented the band, such as Cornelius Bradly, for whom there was a 'Benefit' performance at the theatre in 1795. At the time Bradly had fallen upon hard times and was 'confined to the Derry workhouse'.[35] The practice of 'benefit' performances allowed individual performers to appeal directly to their audiences for their support and to swell the gross takings from their own 'Benefits'. Benefit nights usually occupied the last two weeks of the theatre season and provided a

large percentage of the actors' earnings.

In Atkins' troupe it was principally members of his own family who provided the musical interludes: his wife played the harpsichord and his daughter sang. But members of the cast performed on occasion too, as in May 1802 when Mr Radcliffe played a 'Sonata on the Pianoforte'- the first mention of a piano in a Derry theatre. The theatre manager himself sometimes supplemented the musical forces: he was known to 'sing agreeably and occasionally play the fiddle in the orchestra'. Amateurs too gave guest performances. In 1790 a 'gentleman' flautist accompanied a professional singer onstage; a few years later, singing by a lady and gentleman 'lately arrived from America' caused considerable excitement in the Artillery Lane Theatre.[36]

For larger social events and regular assemblies, the band of the local garrison was engaged. A regimental band provided the 'Musick' for dancing at the fortnightly 'Derry Assemblies' during the winter of 1784-1785, charging three pounds per night for their services.[37] For smaller events a single musician often played on the harp, violin or pochette- a diminutive four-stringed instrument, small enough to be carried in the breast pocket. An insight into this type of free-lance employment is provided by the travelling musician, Mr O'Donnell, who advertised in the *Journal* in 1791. He described himself as a 'celebrated performer on the Irish Pipes' and offered to provide music for dancing for 'Parties in City and Country on the shortest notice'.[38] The reference to 'the country' suggests that he hoped to obtain employment in the large stately houses which were springing up along the banks of the Foyle towards Muff and Moville during the later eighteenth century.

CONCLUSION

In 1837 the author of the Ordnance Survey *Memoir* commented upon the lack of social entertainments in Derry: the theatre had closed, concerts were few in number and fashionable balls were no longer held in the Town Hall or in the King's Arms Hotel.[39] Instead, by the mid 1830s the hotel was hosting piano and instrument sales by visiting traders for the city's new middle class clientele.[40] The author attributed the decline in amusements to both 'religious fervour amongst the city's inhabitants' and 'the removal of many of the more wealthy inhabitants from the town to the country'.[41] He lamented 'a prevailing indifference to public amusements, to polite literature and to the fine arts'. Press advertisements in the *Journal* not only confirm this analysis but provide a more exact timetable of withdrawal. By 1819 advertisements had started to appear for balls and coteries in the seaside towns of Moville, Greencastle and Bundoran, replacing those once held in Derry.[42] Within a decade the balls were no longer advertised and were private events attended only by personal invitation. During the mid 1820s the Artillery Lane Theatre faced falling audiences and presented only infrequent seasons. A series of theatre managers had taken over the theatre during the early 1820s but failed to lure back the once fashionable audiences. By 1824 the theatre was advertised as 'To Let'. It finally closed in October 1833, becoming part of a coach-house and later the Fourth Derry Presbyterian Church. Theatre only returned in the later 1840s with a different class of patron in the rather disreputable 'Theatre Royal' in Fountain Street.[43]

By the early 1830s, therefore, the process of withdrawal had been completed with both a

geographical and structural shift in the social life of the gentry and upper-classes. They had both removed themselves physically from the city's entertainments and drawn a veil of privacy around their new found pleasures. The 'golden age' of elite entertainments in the city had passed. By the end of the Georgian age, the elite social events in Derry, once presided over by a King and Queen of the night...had died away'.[44]

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AN EILIMINT *MÁLAINN* I LOGAINMNEACHA

Paul Tempan

Tá an logainm Málainn faoi dhó i dTír Chonaill agus tá cúig shampla eile den ainm seo in Éirinn (i gContae Chorcaí, 2 i gContae Chiarraí, i gContae Chill Mhantáin agus i gContae na hIarmhí). Is é paróiste agus sraidbhaile *Malainn* [1] (Malin) in Inis Eoghain. Tugtar *Ard Mhalanna*[2] (Ardmalin) ar an mbaile fearainn ina bhfuil suite *Cionn Mhálanna* (Malin Head), an pointe is faide ó thuaidh in Éirinn.Tá bailte fearainn i bparóiste Ghleann Cholm Cille *Málainn Mhór* agus *Málainn Bheag*. Cinn tíre atá iontu araon. Tá an dá bhaile fearainn ar theorainn a chéile.

Ainmneacha cnoc atá sna samplaí eile den eilimint seo. Is é *Málainn* (Maulin, 621m) i mBéarra an ceann is airde díobh. Tá sé ar bharr an Ghleanna Bhig (Glanbeg). Níl aon leagan Gaeilge ar fáil ar an mbaile fearainn *Maulin* (i bparóiste Bhaile Uí Thaidhg, Contae Chiarraí) nó ar *Maulin Mountain* (216m) ó na léarscáileanna, ach is é *Malainn* an léiriú a thugtar air san Ainmleabhar na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis. Tá baile fearainn eile den ainm chéanna i bparóiste na Dromod, Contae Chiarraí.
"Bruach nó mala nó guala cnuic" an míniú a thug an Seabhac air.[3]

Logainm fíorsheanda atá i *Málainn* (Maulin, 510m) i gContae Chill Mhantáin. Luaitear *cath Málanna* i ndán i *Lebor Gabála Érenn*. Cath idir Éber agus Érimón atá i gceist – d'éirigh díospóid eatarthu faoin ríocht: "sund ruc Amairgen in mbreith- / ní chelat a chomathig- / O chath Maland, miad cen meth, / etir sluago Mac Miled."[4] D'aithin Eoin Mac Néill an cnoc Maulin mar suíomh den chath seo.[5] Is ar *Sliab* Malonn i gContae na hIarmhí a thógadh *Bruiden Dá Choca*, ach chuaigh an ainm seo i léig. *Breenmore Hill (Bruiden Mór)* an t-ainm Béarla atá ar an gcnoc an lae inniu. Tuairiscítear mar a leanas sa téacs *Bruiden Da Chocae*: "Deisid ocae airisemh hi tig Da Chocae. Lotor do iar suide. Bá sí sin in sesiod rigbruiden Erenn 'na aimsir .i. Bruiden Da Chocae hi Sléib Malonn."[6] Tugadh *Crích Fer Malonn* ar an gceantar ina bhfuil *Bruiden Dá Choca* agus *Sliab Malonn* de réir an téacs chéanna. Ainm cine atá i *Fir Malonn*, is dócha, ach níl eolas eile againn ar an bpobal seo.

Eolas beagán mícheart atá ar fáil ar *málainn* san *Fhoclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* le Niall Ó Dónaill. Shonraigh sé an focal málainn mar mhalairt de *mala* ('brow'). I dtús baire, tá guta fada sa chéad siolla i ngach sampla den logainm *Málainn* (rud a thug Liam Price faoi deara i *Place-Names of County Wicklow*). Ina theannta sin, ba é an fhoirm ghineadach den fhocal *mala* sa tSean-Ghaeilge. Mar sin, is léir nach bhfuil ainmfhocal den N-díochlaonadh i *mala* ach den K-díochlaonadh (díochlaonadh scornaí). Níl aon bhaint idir *málainn* agus an focal mála ('bag') ach oiread. Focal iasachta measartha nua-aimseartha

ón bhFraincis atá i mála. Dá bhrí sin, is eilimint ann féin atá i málainn. Is i logainmneacha amháin a bhfáitear í go bhfios dom. Eilimint neamhcoitianta atá ann agus níl bunús soiléir aige. Seans gur focal roimh-cheilteach atá ann. Is cosúil go gciallaíonn sé 'cnoc' nó 'talamh ard'.

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[1] Is é málainn an fhoirm thabharthach ó thús. Is í málu an fhoirm ainmneach sna foinsí stairiúla, e.g. "ocus Malu co Malaind" (*The Metrical Dindshenchas*, eag. Edward Gwynn, iml. iii, l. 92).

[2] *Malanna* an fhoirm ghinideach sa Nua-Ghaeilge, cé nach raibh guta deiridh ann sna foirmeacha stairiúla: "O chath *Maland*", "hi *Sléib Malonn*", srl.

[3] "An Seabhac" (Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha), Béaloideas, vol xxiii (1954), l. 45.

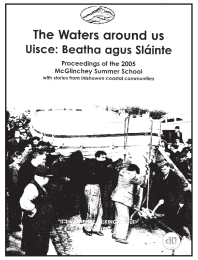
[4] *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, eagrú agus aistriúchán le R.A.S. MacAlister, *Cumann na Sgríbheann nGaedhilge,* iml. xliv (1942) 1956, l. 118-9. Aistriúchán: "There did Amorgen give the judgement / his neighbours conceal it not; / after the battle of Mala, a fame without decay, / between the hosts of the sons of Míl.

[5] JRSAI, iml. lxv (1935), l. 9. Tá eolas breise ar fáil i *Place-Names of Co. Wicklow* le Liam Price, l. 299-300.

[6] Bruiden Da Chocae, eagrú agus aistriúchán le Whitley Stokes i *Revue Celtique*, iml. xxi, uimh. 2 (Aibrean 1900), l. 314-5. Aistriuchán: "So they settle to halt in Dá Choca's house. Thither, then, they went. It was one of the six royal hostels of Erin in its time, namely Bruiden Dá Choca on Sliab Malonn."

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BOOK REVIEWS

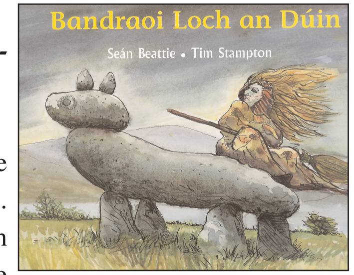


"It's us they're talking about", Issue No. 8. The Waters around us, Uisce : Beatha agus Sláinte.
Proceedings of the 2005 McGlinchey Summer School with stories from the Inishowen coastal communities. 86 pages,
published by McGlinchey Summer School, Clonmany. Price€10
Des Doherty (Editor)

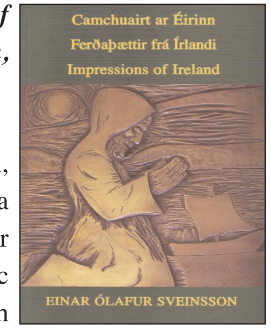
"The sea is in our blood", writes Buncrana-born playwright Frank McGuinness in his introductory article on the lure of the sea in the eighth issue of the journal covering the proceedings of the McGlinchey Summer School, 2005, which had a maritime theme. Naturally, a great variety of marine topics is covered with heritage, folklore and tradition, personal accounts by writers connected with the sea, and economic assessments on the future of fishing. Ruth Doherty writes about folklorist Seán Ó hEochaidh, who collected an abundance of sea stories in his lifetime. Maria Stevens explores identity among fishermen and Claire Cully uncovers stories of sea rescues from local fishermen. Norman Fullam came to work in Malin Head radio station in 1972 and he recalls the great feeling of neighbourliness he experienced on his arrival. The present state of the fishing industry and its future are discussed by Joe Gallagher and Pat "the Cope" Gallagher in his capacity as Marine Minister expresses his confidence in the industry pointing to investment in the pelagic fleet.

Looking beyond the coastline of Inishowen, Paddy Barry recounts his adventures in the Arctic while Patsy Toland reminds us that in the third world, clean water on tap is still a luxury. Records at Malin Head Weather Station started in 1885, according to Paddy Delaney in his review of rainfall, temperatures and winds. Local contributions include J.J. Keaveney's "The Great Greencastle Drown", Laurence Glackin's "The Fishermen" and a Ballad of John Danny.

Other articles deal with the Pollan Dam, the Laurentic, St. Columb's Well, seafood and local flora. The journal is superbly illustrated with charts and maps; there are photographs by Ali Farren and from the Schenkel/Bigger collection. Congratulations to the energetic local committee for getting the proceedings of the Summer School on record as maritime history continues to be a neglected area of Donegal studies. Editor Des Doherty and his team have produced an interesting publication which will appeal to a wide readership.
Seán Beattie.



Bandraoi Loch an Dúin
Seán Beattie and Tim Stampton, An Gúm, 1-85791-581-X, 30 pages,€8 .50.
Tim Stampton works in Ballagh Studio, Malin and has produced a delightful series of illustrations to portray the story of the Loughadoon Witch and her unfortunate life. This is a traditional folktale which comes from South Donegal and is re-told in Irish by Seán Beattie in a style that is suitable for children from age nine to eleven but will be enjoyed by children of all ages. The publisher is An Gúm, Dublin, which specializes in Irish language publications.



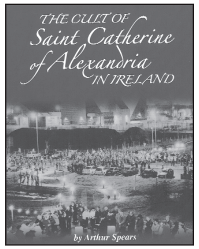
Camchuairt ar Éirinn, Ferdapaettir frá Írlandi, Impressions of Ireland, Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, Four Masters Press, Dublin, 2005, Price €19.50

Thug an tÍoslannach Einar Ólafur Sveinsson cuairt ar Theileann, Gleann Cholmcille agus na Cruacha Gorma sa bhliain 1947. Ina chuideachta ar an turas seo bhí Séamus Ó Duilearga, Stiúrthóir Choimisiún Bhéaloideasa Éireann, agus Hermann Pálsson, mac léinn a bhí ag déanamh taighde. Nuair a phill an t-Ollamh Sveinnson ar an Íoslainn, scríobh sé alt ina dtugann sé pictiúir de shaol na daoine sna ceantracha sin i dTír Chonaill ar a dtug sé cuairt. Ceann de na rudaí spéisiúla faoi an alt seo, ná go leagann sé béim ar an cheangal láidir idir Éirinn agus an Íoslainn agus caitheann sé súil ar sheanscéalta na bpapar, manaigh na luath Chríostaíochta a chuaigh as Rinn na Cille i dTeileann chun na h-Íoslainne. Ins an leabhar seo tá an bhunleagan Íoslannaigh, ach ina chuideachta sin tá aistriúcháin Gaeilge agus Béarla. Ciallaíonn seo go bhfuil an leabhar rannta ina trí páirteanna agus tugann sin rogha don léitheoir díriú ar an leagan is fearr a fhóireann dó/díthe fhéin.

Is é an pháirt is suimiúla den leabhar seo ná an cur síos atá déanta ag an Ollamh Sveinsson ar na trí lá a chaith sé '"sna ceantair is iargúlta in Iarthuaisceart na hÉireann". Tá alt fosta sa leabhar a scríobh Magnus Magnusson ar Theileann agus tá alt eile scríofa ag Bo Almqvist ar an Ollamh Sveinsson agus Éire. Bheadh an leabhar seo suimiúil agus spéisiúil do dhaoine ar bith a bhfuil suim acu i gcúrsaí Béaloideasa agus tá tagairt ann do Sheán Ó hEochaidh, go ndéana Dia a mhaith air, duine a rinne ceann fir ag báiliú Béaloideasa.

Ba é Éanna MacCuinneagáin a shocraigh an t-alt seo a fhoilsiú i bhfoirm leabhair agus tá moladh tuillte aige as an éacht seo a chur i gcríoch. Is iad Comhlacht na gCeithre Máistrí a d'fhoilsigh an leabhar seo sa bhliain 2005. Is é luach an leabhair ná €19.50 .
An Dr. Pádraig Ó Baoighill.

The cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in Ireland.
Arthur Spears. Rathmullan, 2006, 0-978-0-9540888-1-1
Price 13.99 euro.



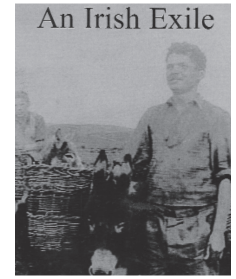
The Feast of Saint Catherine of Alexandria is celebrated on 25 November. She is not an Irish saint but devotion to her in Ireland alone extends from Ventry in Kerry to Killybegs. She was born in Alexandria in Egypt and died a martyr to her faith early in the fourth century. Several theories exist about her associations with Ireland, one of which suggests that her connection with Killybegs began when a bishop who survived a shipwreck came ashore and blessed a well in her honour. Devotion to her extended from England to Ireland in the twelfth century and spread throughout the land as the Anglo-Normans tried to establish control. She was adopted by the native Irish in the thirteenth century. In 1513, some believe she protected Killybegs when pirates attacked it. Devotion to her eventuallly took root in Connaught and Donegal. Canon Maguire makes reference to her in his history of the diocese of Raphoe. The book is not an account of the life of St. Catherine but rather a description of how devotion to her developed from the fifth century onwards.

She had friends in high places. King Henry II was a devoted follower and at home, Máire MacSuibhne, wife of a Tír Chonaill chief, was also a devotee. Documentary evidence about the saint, however, is scant so information from a wide variety of sources has been compiled in this work to help create a greater awareness of her life.

Arthur Spears has spent a lifetime on this research. He begins by explaining his use of the word "cult" in the title. It is not used in the modern sense but refers to the rituals that surround the worship of the saint. He provides a very detailed historiography from writers such as Whitley Stokes to the well-known historians of Irish monasteries, Gwynn and Hadcock. The central section of the book explores place names, churches, monasteries and holy wells in a search for a better understanding of St. Catherine's life. It's a complex but fascinating journey, full of surprises, theories, folklore and insights that take the reader across many Irish counties and foreign territories. Thankfully, the author pays particular attention to the home ground, such as the Dioceses of Raphoe and Clogher, which have four sites dedicated to the saint. Máire Ní Mháille, the wife of a Fanad chief, features prominently. She was responsible for the life of the saint being translated from Latin into Irish.

Arthur Spears crosses a bridge that spans the academic world and popular history in a book that is exquisitely presented. Here is a feast of great visual integrity and wealth with a fine collection of photos of holy sites and churches, maps and plans of great quality, architectural drawings and tapestries, illustrations and prints. The author submits the evidence and helps the reader to reach a conclusion. His footnotes are detailed and exhaustive, evidence of meticulous research and there is a very impressive index. This book will appeal to anyone with an interest in exploring the mysteries of our Christian heritage and in particular this enigmatic saint.
Seán Beattie

***An Irish Exile*, William Doherty, 77 pages, illustrated, €12.**
RS Publishing



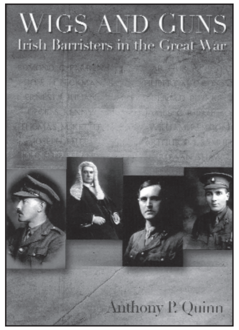
The story of the Irish who emigrated to Britain after World War II has been highlighted in recent years. William Doherty has written a moving memoir entitled ***An Irish Exile*** which chronicles the positive experience of many emigrants.

One of twelve children, born in 1929 on a small farm described with wit as 'three rocks and a blast of wind' in Tirhoran, overlooking Clonmany village, Willie introduces us to his family, the farmhouse, farm work and his neighbours. His Uncle Joe, Jimmy Houten and Willie Grannie are the subject of many amusing stories. At school he was good at compositions and he still has a talent for expression. He remembers his first trip on a bus to Carndonagh and his first film *Crazy to Kill* in Derry. He recalls the war years, refugees from Scotland at the local school, a plane crash in Urris, planes landing at Pollan and at Binnion, Lipton's tea smuggled from Derry and the BBC news on the Pye Radio.

After the war, as older brothers emigrated, Willie "thought it must be great to be away." His first job was in a sugar factory in Peterborough, on a free passage via Dublin and Dun Laoghaire on the Princess Maud. Next trip was to Glasgow on the Derry boat, then stints in Manchester, Crewe and finally London where he settled. He worked for Wimpey, Mc Alpine, Murphy and the big construction firms. From 1947 to 1967 he changed jobs 150 times until he got tired of working for others and set up as a window cleaner and painter/decorator. In an Irish dance hall, he met his Donegal wife, Bridget Kelly, from Milford. They married in 1958 and had seven children. He saw them qualify as a doctor, engineer, solicitor and others hold different careers. The death of his sixteen year old daughter Anne in a car crash was a great tragedy for the family. He reflects on the new Ireland and contrasts it with the land he left almost sixty years ago when people respected authority.

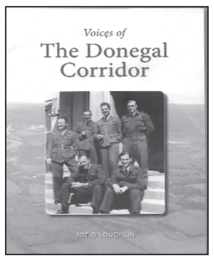
This slim volume will interest anyone whose life has been touched by emigration. Copies of William Doherty's ***An Irish Exile*** can be ordered by telephone from the author +44 0208 2025 364.
Marius Harkin

Wigs and Guns: Irish Barristers in the Great War.
Anthony P. Quinn, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2006.
ISBN 1-85182-935-0. Price €45



Anthony Quinn has researched the lives of twenty-five barristers who gave their lives in World War One. Among them was a Ballyshannon lawyer, William Lipsett, who was born in 1886 in Main St., where the family had a thriving business. He had a distinguished career but it ended abruptly in 1915 when, at the age of twenty-nine, he was killed during the second Battle of Ypres. The book has a useful chronology of the events leading up to the war and after. There is an extensive bibliography and a thorough index which will be appreciated by students of the war. Anthony Quinn's research is a reminder of the contribution and sacrifices made by Donegal soldiers during this momentous period in history. The book is essential reading for everyone interested in the part played by Irish soldiers on the battlefields of Europe.

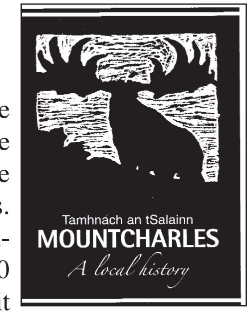
Voices of the Donegal Corridor
Joe O'Loughlin, Nonsuch Publishing, Dublin, 2005, ISBN 1 84588 526 0, 96 pages, Price £11.49



The author is a native of Belleek and a member of Clogher Historical Society. He records the human side to warfare and its aftermath, with stories of the trauma of families who lost relatives in air crashes in the Second World War. Most of the human losses occurred along the so-called "Donegal Corridor", an area of south Donegal used by Allied aircraft based at Lough Erne in Co. Fermanagh to gain access to the Atlantic. Ireland was neutral but de Valera, An Taoiseach, gave permission for such flights. Inevitably, there were plane crashes. In 1944, a Halifax aircraft crashed on Tullan Strand at Bundoran killing all eight crew members. In 2002, relatives of the crew came from Canada to visit the site at Bundoran and erected a memorial. This is a moving story and is one of many of great human interest in the book. Joe O'Loughlin deserves our admiration for his efforts to locate such war sites and this book ensures that his invaluable work is placed on record. There are also the stories of the unexpected, such as the finding of a wedding ring belonging to an airman and having it returned years later to his family.

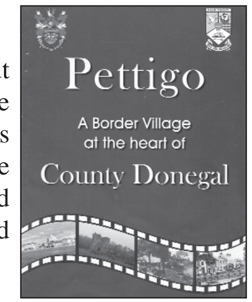
The photographs in the book are refreshing and tell their own story: relatives visiting crash sites, the unveiling of memorial plaques, pictures of aircraft crews in happier days and of course their planes. Inevitably, the Sheil Hospital had an important role to play in treating injured airmen. This book is of interest to many people, not just the families of the dead and injured. It is a reminder of the part played by people in Donegal who lived along the "Donegal Corridor" and witnessed the war effort at first hand even though the country was officially neutral. Their stories are now part of our history thanks to the efforts of people like Joe O'Loughlin.
Seán Beattie

Tamhnach an tSalainn, Mountcharles, a Local History.
Mountcharles ICA Guild, Letterkenny, n.d, 20 pages.



The Mountcharles guild of the ICA has compiled a beautiful guide to the history, folklore, fauna and heritage of this community. There are accounts of sprigging, for which the area was famous, the Erasmus Smith School, placenames, and local personalities. Among the latter is storyteller Seamus McManus and Wall St. financier, Hugh Harley, who shipped over his collection of 12,000 books to be used by local people. This is a small publication but it carries the imprint of an enthusiastic group of researchers who love their native place and want others to enjoy it. There are some enchanting photos and images used in the book. One of the most interesting is a picture of a group of stonecutters outside the Monaghan mines in Drimkeelan, Mountcharles. It is unusual to find a book of local interest that has so much variety and colour.
Seán Beattie.

Pettigo, a Border Village at the heart of County Donegal
Ballyshannon, 2006, 20 pages, illustrated, 10 euro.



Small Border villages rarely attract the attention of historians but Pettigo is fortunate that episodes and personalities in its history have been preserved in this attractive, illustrated publication. The book is the result of a unique joint initiative between students in Coláiste Cholmcille in Ballyshannon and the Pettigo community with Ted Hall acting as facilitator. The school's Home School Liaison unit led by Anthony Begley and the St.Vincent de Paul were also involved.

The students have unearthed some little known gems of history. Few would associate the Quiet Man with the village – it is in fact a memorial – or that the composer of "Waltzing Matilda", A. B. Patterson was the grandson of a Pettigo resident. The history of Lough Derg and the fact that the G.N.R opened a line to the village in 1866 are also mentioned. The issue also contains poetry and articles on school life written by current students of Coláiste Cholmcille. There is also a CD attached containing interviews by students with residents of the area.

The book was launched by the Australian Ambassador who joined the students and residents in an evening of celebration. It is hoped that other schools and communites can harness their energies in a similar manner. Copies are available in Pettigo or from Coláiste Cholmcille.
Seán Beattie

Gallagher Clan
O'Gallchobhair

Lisnanees, Woodlands, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, Ireland. Tel: +353 (0)74 9124689
Email: postmaster@gallagherclan.org Web: www.gallagherclan.org

GALLAGHER CLAN REUNION 2007

The first Gallagher Clan Reunion will take place from Saturday 8 September to Saturday 15 September 2007. The Gallaghers originated in Donegal 1,500 years ago. This is the first Clan assembly since the collapse of the Gaelic system following the Flight of the Earls in 1607.

Sat. 8 Arrival at Letterkenny, followed by international reception.
Sun 9 Church services followed by visits to New Mills, Glenswilly, Gartan, Kilmacrenan, and Doon Rock, where Gallagher chieftains attended O'Donnell inaugurations. Lunch at Letterkenny.
Mon 10 Fintown, Dungloe, the Rosses, the story of Paddy the Cope, Arranmore, where there will be a turf-cutting display; Dunlewey.
Tues 11 Grianán Aileach, Culmore, Amelia Earhardt connection, Derry and Raphoe, whose last resident bishop was a Gallagher; Beltony.
Wed 12 Creeslough, home of Bridie Gallagher, harvesting display, Glenveagh National Park and Gortahork.
Thur 13 Ballybofey/Stranorlar, Ballanaglack Gallagher fort, Ballyshannon, with Rory Gallagher links and Donegal Town.
Fri 14 Ramelton, Carrigart/Downings, Fanad, Rathmullan, Flight of the Earls site.
Sat 15 Lifford Old Court House, Strabane, Omagh Folk Park, Letterkenny, scene of the hiring fairs; county museum and library, with extensive Irish local studies section.



From left: Peter Gallagher, Bishop Boyce, Pat 'the Cope' Gallagher, Minister of State, Fr. Seán Gallagher, Adrian Gallagher

DONEGAL STUDIES 2006

Eileen Burgess, County Librarian/Divisional Manager Cultural Services

A list of books and journal articles by Donegal authors, or about Donegal subjects and persons, which were published/became available 1.1.2006 to 31.12.2006.

Religion / Ecclesiastical History ~ Reiligiún / Stair Eaglasta

BANDER, Peter
The Prophecies of St Malachy and St Colmkille
Buckinghamshire, UK: Colin Smythe, 2005. 142p.
09671404610 €8.98

FULLER, Anne P. (ed)
Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Vol 20: 1513-1521: Leo X, Lateran registers part 1
Dublin: Irish Manuscripts, 2005.
1874280789 €84

O'BYRNE, Eileen
The Convert rolls
Dublin: Irish Manuscripts, 2005.
1874280649 €65

TEACH POBAÍL AN TEAGHLAÍGH NAOFA
Éadan Fhíonn Fraoích, 1906-2006
[s.l.: s.n.], 2006. 31p.

HENDERSON, Ian D.
Inver Methodist Church 125th anniversary 1881 – 2006: a short history
[s.l.: s.n.], 2006. 35p. €8

KELLY, Eamonn
Fill your mind with thoughts of God
Donegal: The Author, 2006. 89p.
1872276318
[collection of prayers]

KNOX, Ivan & Mark Knox
A Hundred years of Rossnowlagh Presbyterian Church 1906-2006 and a history of Ballyshannon congregation - since 1674 –
[s.l.: s.n.], 2006. 72p.
9017375185868 €12

LAMONT, Jim
Highland inspiration
Dunfanaghy: The Author, 2005. 101p.
9780955165900 €10

MALLON, Moira
Rev. Monsignor. John Sweeney Dean of Raphoe, Parish Priest of Killybegs and Killaghtee (1896-1933)
In Dearcadh, The Ardara View, 2006-2007, 2006. pp21-24.

MCLAUGHLIN, Nellie
Out of wonder: The evolving story of the universe
Dublin: Veritas, 2004. 237p.
1853906484 €14.95

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Conán Maol agus Fianna Éireann in Ard an Rátha
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.5, Bealtaine, 2006. pp21-22.

RAPHOE Directory 07
Letterkenny: 2006. 132p

SPEARS, Arthur
The Cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in Ireland
Rathmullan: Rathmullan District Local History Society, 2006. 124p.
978 0954088811 €13.99

Politics ~ Polaitíocht
Ó BREISLEÁIN, Uinsionn
Oilithreacht Chormaic: Fianna Fáil i nDún na nGall Thiar/Theas (1937 – 1977)
[s.l.: s.n.,s.d.], 239 €25
In Administration, Vol.53, No.3, 2005. pp103-13.

Politics ~ Polaitíocht
Ó BREISLEÁIN, Uinsionn
Oilithreacht Chormaic: Fianna Fáil i nDún na nGall Thiar/Theas (1937 – 1977)
[s.l.: s.n.,s.d.], 239p €25

Law ~ Dlí
Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry set up pursuant to the Tribunal of Inquiry (Evidence) Acts 1921 – 2002 into certain Gardaí in the Donegal Division.
Dublin: Government of Ireland, 2006. 262p. maps.
[Report of the Morris Tribunal – On the circumstances surrounding the arrest and detention of Mark McConnell on the 1st October 1998 and Michael Peoples on the 6th of May 1999].

Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry set up pursuant to the Tribunal of Inquiry (Evidence) Acts 1921 – 2002 into certain Gardaí in the Donegal Division.
Dublin: Government of Ireland, 2006. 274p. maps.
[Report of the Morris Tribunal – On the arrest and detention of seven persons at Burnfoot, County Donegal on the 23rd of May 1998 and the investigation relating to same].

Local Development ~ Forbairt Áitiúil
MEITHEAL FORBARTHA NA GAELTACHTA
MFG 2006
[s.l.: s.n.]: 2006.49p.

Public Administration / Public Works ~ Riarachán Poiblí / Oibrithe Poiblí
DONEGAL COUNTY COUNCIL = COMHAIRLE CHONTAE DHÚN NA NGALL
Annual report 2003 – 2004 = Tuarascáil bhliantúil 2003 - 2004
[Lifford: Donegal County Council, 2005]. 91p.

THE FERNS REPORT
Presented to the Minister for health and children October 2005
Dublin: The Stationary Office, 2006. 271p.
0755772997 €6

PEACE building in the border counties (Donegal and Strabane) = Ag Cruthú síochána i gContaetha na teorann (Dún na nGall agus An Srath Bán
Strabane: District Council, 2006. 95p.
[an examination of cross-border work in the public sector focusing on Strabane District Council and Donegal County Council (in the areas of arts, culture, libraries, heritage and museums)]

POTTER, Matthew
The Government and the people of Limerick: the history of Limerick Corporation/City Council 1197 – 2006
Limerick: Limerick City Council, 2006. 513p.
978 0 905700 13 7 €45

TOPPING, Trevor
Toil & trouble: A guide through the maze of self-employment
Inishowen Partnership Company/Dept of Social and Family Affairs
[s.l.: s.n.]: 2006. 100p.

Education ~ Oideachas
DROMORE REUNION COMMITTEE
Dromore National School Reunion 1915 – 2005
[s.l.:s.n.], 2005. 88p.
€8

GALLAGHER, Helena (ed.)
My Donegal glen now – then: Craigtown National School (Scoil Colmcille)
Letterkenny: Craigtown National School Reunion Committee, 2006. 148p.

JONES, Valerie
A Gaelic experiment: The preparatory system 1926-1961 and Coláiste Moibhí
Dublin: Woodfield, 2006. 319p.
1905094019 €37.94

LEARNING FOR LIVING students
Breaking da code
Letterkenny: Co. Donegal VEC, 2006. 58p.
[collection of creative writings by the students]

MCGLINCHEY Summer School 2005
The Waters around us, Uisce: Beatha agus sláinte: Proceedings of the 2005 McGlinchey summer school with stories from Inishowen coastal communities "It's us they're talking about", Issue No 8
Donegal: McGlinchey Committee, 2006. 85p. €10

RURAL SCHOOLS REUNION COMMITTEE
Schools of yesteryear: memories of the rural schools of Donegal Town
[s.l.:s.n.], 2006. 220p.
€10
[Book covers schools in Barnesmore, Clar, Copany, Drumnahoul, Leghowney, Lough Eske, Townawilly and Tullynaught].

SCHOOLS facsimile pack
Lifford: Donegal County Archives Service, 2006.
[local studies packs to support the primary school curriculum]

'UP THE ROCKS' A Souvenir Book of Boyagh National School
Letterkenny: 2006. 92p.

Transport & Communications ~ Iompar & Cumarsáidí
BURGES, Tony
By Narrow gauge through Donegal
Newtonards: [s.n.], Sept 2006.
€16

LÁR CHOMHAIRLE PARÓISTE GHLEANN CHOLM CILLE
Eolaire Teileafóin do Ghleann Cholm Cille
Co Dhún na nGall: Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2006. 84p. €7

LOVE, Kevin
Bygone days on Fermanagh Railways
[s.l.:s.n.,s.d.] 100p. €15
[includes chapters on Bundoran line]

MAC AONGHUSA, Brian
Tubaistí traenach sa Ghaeltacht
In Comhar, Iml. 66, Uimh.4, Aibreáin 2006. pp 15-17.

SWEENEY, Frank
That Old sinner: the Letterkenny & Burtonport extension railway
Dublin: Irish History Press, 2006. 349p.
0955318408 €15

Broadcasting & film~ Craolachán & Scannán
CUNNANE, Kevin
'The states is brilliant': generic hybridity in I Went Down (1997) and Divorcing Jack (1998)
In Rockett, Kevin and John Hill, (eds.) National cinemas and world cinema
Dublin: Four Courts, 2006. 139p.
1846820197
[Kevin is originally from Manorcunningham]

Folklore / Folklife ~ Béaloideas
FITZGERALD, Carmel & Ben Elves
Céad míle fáilte: A collection of Irish greetings, blessings and photographs
Dublin: Ashfield, 2006. 116p.
1901658643

MAC CIONAITH, Maeleachlainn
Seanchas Rann na Feirste: Is fann guth an éin a labhras leis féinn
Baile Atha Cliath: Coisceim, 2005. 180p.

MEEHAN, Helen
Fairy music in the folklore of the Donegal Bay area
In Treoír, Comhaltas Journal, Iml 38, Uimh 2, 2006. pp7-10.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Bidí Ní Bhaoighill: scéal as an Dubh Chruach
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.11, Samhain 2006. pp24.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Braighní Ó Braonacháin as Barr an Ghaoith
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.12, Mí na Nollag 2006. pp18.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Conán Maol agus Fianna Éireann in Ard an Rátha
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.5, Bealtaine 2006. pp21-22.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Cúirt agus cuibhreann i gcuibhreann Nell
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.7, Iúil 2006. pp21-23.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig
Gleann an Easa Mhóir: Scéal as Gaeltacht Thamhnach an Mhullaigh
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.2, Feabhra 2006. pp18-19.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Mangaire eallaigh as Éirinn

In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.8, Lúnasa 2006. pp20-21.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Naomh Fionnán agus Teampall Ráiche: Béaloideas as ceantar an Fháil Charraigh
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.6, Meitheamh 2006. pp19-21.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (eag.)
Uibh an lachan fhiáin: Sceal béaloideasa as Ard an Rátha
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.9, Meán Fomhair 2006. p21.

Ulster-Scots Language ~ Ulstér-Scotch
MONTGOMERY, Michael
Ulster Scots: Language yesterday & to-day
Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006. 224p.
185182958X €55

Health & Welfare ~ Sláinte & Leas
HSE WORKLINK
Let me in
[s.l.:s.n.], 2006. €5
[compiled writings from Worklink project]

MCGUCKIN, Isla
Pink for a Girl. Wanting a baby and not conceiving – my personal story
London: Hay House, 2006. 246p.
1401907431 £9.99

Cooking ~ Cóicearacht
BREEZY
Bread, scones, stories and songs
Glenties: "Sillybucks", 2006. 130p.

CUNNINGHAM, John M. et al (eds.)
Ó Lámh go lámh: favourite Donegal recipes
Letterkenny: Letterkenny Arts Centre, 2006. 107p.
[recipes and stories submitted by older people to celebrate the Bealtaine festival]

LORETO COMMUNITY SCHOOL PARENTS' ASSOCIATION
Tasty, tried & tested:a collection of recipes for every occasion
[Milford:Loreto Community School, 2006]. 132p.
€6.99

Art and Architecture ~ Ealaíon agus Ailtireacht
CUNNINGHAM, John. M, Linda McMahon, Taryn Gleeson. (eds)
Conflict and resolution Errigal Arts Festival Exhibitions 2006
Letterkenny: Letterkenny Arts Centre, 2006. 60p.
0955330122

O'KANE, Eamon
A Tour around the ideal space for exhibiting art
In Space: Architecture for art.
Dublin: Circa, 2005. pp.122-125.
0955031907

O'KANE, Marianne
Aisling O'Beirn and other storeys
In Circa, No. 116, Summer 2006. pp.86-7.
[review of exhibition at VOID Gallery, Derry]

O'KANE, Marianne
Annaghmakerrig – Twenty-five years of creativity
In Irish Arts Review, Vol. 23, Issue 2, Summer 2006. pp 84-7.

O'KANE, Marianne
Cultural collaborations
In Irish Arts Review [OPW 175th anniversary edition], 2006. pp34-9.
[Article on the Per Cent for Art initiative]

O'KANE, Marianne
EV+A 2006
In Irish Arts Review, Vol. 23, Issue 1, Spring 2006. pp 58-61.

O'KANE, Marianne
Inside the cultural quarter
In Space: Architecture for art.
Dublin: Circa, 2005. pp.78-81.
0955031907

O'KANE, Marianne
John Kindness: rewriting art history
In Irish Arts Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, Autumn 2006. pp 58-9.

Photography ~ Grianghrafadóireacht

NUTAN.
The Islands of Ireland
London: Thames & Hudson Ltd. 2005
0500512582 £18.95
[Includes Arranmore, Owey and Tory Islands]

WAYMAN, Richard
Cith is dealán: a portrait of Ardara = Portráisí de Ard an Rátha
[s.l.:s.n.,s.d.]. 89p.
0 9553301 0 6 €50

Music ~ Ceol

MAC GIOLLA BHRIGHDE, Niall
Blatha fraoich (Heather Blossoms): Songs in Irish and English
Dublin: Whaley, 1905 [reprint by Séamus de Faoite Print]. 32p.

NIC PHÁIDÍN, Michelle
Prionsias Ó Maonaigh: 28 Aibreán 1922 – 28 Márta 2006
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh 4, Aibrean 2006. p7.
[Ómós]

O'DONNELL, Daniel
Follow your dream
Dublin: O'Brien, 2005. 134p.
0852788722 €14.95

O'DONNELL, Daniel
My Story
London: Virgin, 2005. 223p.
0753509784 £7.99

Ó LAOIRE, Lillis
Confessions of a song junkie
In Irish Pages, Vol 3, No. 2. pp 88 – 102.
[article relates to Donegal music, particularly that of Tory]

Sport ~ Spóirt

ADAMS, Ronnie
From Craigantlet to Monte Carlo: The rallies of Ronnie Adams- The first Ulsterman to win the Monte Carlo Rally.
Newtonards: Peninsula, [s.d.]. 133p.

ALLEN, Nicholas
The Ramelton 'rover'
In History Ireland, Vol 14, No.3, May/June 2006. pp66.
[Extract from the Dictionary of Irish Biography on Dave Gallaher]

PLATT, W.H.W.
North West of Ireland hockey 1895 – 1968
[Coleraine: The Author, 2006]. 397p.

Outdoor Life ~ 'Amuigh Faoin Spéir'

FOREST LINK conference: Linking communities to policies
Donegal:County Development Board, 2006. 64p. ill.
[Proceedings of conference held in Donegal Town in October 2005]

Drama ~ Dráma

Ó SEARCAIGH, Cathal
Mairimid leis na mistéirí agus dramaí eile
Galway: Arlen House, 2006.
1903631661 €10

Ó SEARCAIGH, Cathal
Oíche dhrochghealaí
Baile Átha Cliath: Coisceim, 2005.
€10
[a new version of the story of Salome in the form of a verse-play]

Literature and Literary Criticism

LYSANDROU, Yvonne
Hugh O'Neill as 'Hamlet-Plus':(Post) colonialism and dynamic stasis in Brian Friel's Making History
In Irish Studies Review, Vol 14, No.1, 2006. pp 91-106.

MORSE, Donald, E. (ed)
Brian Friel's dramatic artistry
Dublin: Carysfort, 2006. 342p.
1904505171 £21.49

O'BRIEN, Peggy
Writing Lough Derg: From William Carleton to Seamus Heaney
New York: Syracuse, 2006. 376p.
0815630980 £19.95

DE PAOR, Padraig
Na Buachaillí Dána
Baile Atha Cliath: An Clochomhar, 2005
0903758598 €12
[literary criticism of Cathal O Searcaigh poetry]

Filíocht

Ó SEARCAIGH, Cathal
Cúig dánta
In Irish Pages, Vol 3, No. 2. pp 175 –186.
[Poems translated into English by Denise Blake]

MAURIN, A & T Wolfahrt
VERSschmuggel VéARSaistear
Conamara: Clo Iar-Chonnachta, 2006.
1905560044 €20
[Book and CD featuring Irish and German poets, including Cathal O Searcaigh & Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill]

Poetry

FRIEL, Fiona
Book of poems
[sl:sn, 2006]. 31p. €4

LYNCH, Mícheál (ed.)
Inis dúinn poetry anthology
Carndonagh: Community School, 2005. ill. [41p.]

McDONNELL, Clare
Feeling for infinity
Kilcar: Summer Palace, 2006. 64p.
0 955212227 €10

MCGLYNN, Celine & Dr Pauline Holland (eds.)
Sarah Leech: The Ulster-Scots poetess of Raphoe Co Donegal
Raphoe: Ulster-Scots Agency, 2006. 74p.

MONAGHAN, Eamonn
Poetry
[sl:sn], 2006. 70p.

Ó SEARCAIGH, Cathal
Searmanas = Rituals
In Poetry Ireland Review, Issue 87, 2006. pp 20 - 25
[translated by Denise Blake]

SMEATON, Brian
Whin bushes in long grasses
Kilcar: Summer Palace, 2006. 64p.
0955212235 €10

Fiction ~ Úrscealtaí
CHARLES, Paul
Sweetwater
Dingle: Brandon, 2006. 284p
[Author lives near Ramelton]

GILL, Ross
The Patriot committee
[s.l.]: The Author, 2006, 208p
1847284949 €15
[Author lives in Downings]

MAC a'BHAIRD, Proinsias
An Tairiscint
Baile Atha Cliath: Coisceim, 2006.
KEX0189436 €8

MAC AN Tsaoir, Martainn agus Donnchadh Mac Giolliosa
Malairt Scéil: Nuascéalaíocht ó Albain
Baile Átha Cliath: Cois Life, 2006. 146p.
1901176630 €15

MacGILL, Patrick
Moleskin Joe
Dublin:New Island, 2005. 189p.
[new edition]

MC CALL, Felicity
Agnes Jones
Derry: Guidhall, 2006. 72p.
0946451966 £6.95
[based on life of nurse Agnes Jones from Fahan. DVD also available, no details to date.]

O'DONNELL, Peadar
Islanders
Cork: Mercier, 2005. 126p.
186354725 €9.99
[book originally published in 1927]

THRONE, John
The Donegal woman
Derry: The Drumkeen Press, July 2006. 431p.
0955355206 £9.99

Prose
CAMPBELL, Patrick
The Ghosts of Inishfree and other stories
New Jersey: The Author, 2006. 176p.

Children's literature ~ Litríocht don aos óg BEATTIE, Seán
Bandraoi loch an dúin
Baile Átha Cliath: An Gúm, 2006. 30p.
185791581X €8.50

FRIEL, Maeve
Witch–in–Training: The Last Task
London: Harper Collins Children's Books, 2006. 96p.
0007185278 £3.99

GALLAGHER, Mary
The Mulhern twins
Cork: Collins, 2006. 126p.
978 19051727

GALLAGHER, Mary
The Snot Gang in 'Gotcha'
Cork: Collins, 2005. 100p.
1903464714

NÍ DHUIBHNE, Eilís
Hurlamaboc
Baile Átha Cliath: Cois Life, 2006. 160p.
1901176622 €10

PARKINSON, Siobhán
Kate
Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2006. 158p.
0862789931 €7.95

SCOLTOCK, Jack
Patrick's gift
Malin: Swordpoint, 2006. 96p.
978 0 9544530 7 7
[cover art by John Quigley of Carrowmenagh]

Biography and Autobiography ~ Beathaisnéis agus Dírbeathaisnéis
LENNON, Neil
Man and Bhoy
London: HarperSport, 2006. 365p.
0007233477 €23.02

NÍ THUAMA, Eibhlín
An Nollaig I nDún na nGall
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.7, Iúil 2006. pp12-13.

Ó DOCHARTAIGH, Seoirse
Bealach nua roimh Sheoirse
In An tUltach, Iml.82, Uimh.8, Lúnasa 2006. pp8-9.
[Seoirse lives in Laghey]

SHOVLIN, Charles J.
The Journey home
Cheshire: Trafford, 2006. 116p.
1412066026 €10.99
[The author is a healer and teacher, living in Kilraine]

Family History / Genealogy ~ Stair Chlainne / Ginealas
MEEHAN, Helen
The Babingtons
In Dearcadh, The Ardara View, 2006-2007. 2006. pp9-12.
[parts of this article previously published in the author's "Inver Parish in History"]
€7

MONTGOMERY, Rt. Rev. Bishop Henry
A Generation of Montgomerys: memories of a 19th century generation of the illustrious Montgomery family, three of whom spent most of their life at Draperstown
Draperstown: Ballinascreen Historical Society, 2006. 80p.
0 954434137
[first printed 1895]

Ó CANANN, Tomás G.
Carraig an Dúnáin: probable Ua Canannáin inauguration site
In JRSAI, vol. 133, 2003, pp36-67

Ó CANANN, Tomás G.
Máel Coba Ua Gallchobair and his early family background
In JRSAI, vol. 134, 2004, pp 33 – 79.

SLEVIN, Fiona
By Hereditary virtues: A History of Lough Rynn
[s.l.]: Coolabawn, 2006. 167p.
0955388309
[Lough Rynn in Leitrim was part of the 3rd Earl of Leitrim estate, and thereby of interest to many Donegal readers]

Tourist guides & maps ~ Treoracha turasóireachta & Léarscáileanna

DONEGAL TOURISM LTD
Donegal Holiday Guide
Donegal: Donegal Tourism Ltd. 2006. 47p.

RING, Alice, John M Cunningham, et al (eds), with the children and teachers of Wood School, Ardara
Wild Things in a Wild Nice Place.
Letterkenny: Arts Centre, 2006. 66p
0955330122

Local History/ Topography ~Stair Áitiúla/ Dinnseanchas / Logainmnaíocht

BROGAN, Jacqueline, Vaught
Time and Again: An Appreciation of Charles L. O'Donnell, CSC
In Dearcadh, The Ardara View, 2006-2007. 2006. pp104-106.
€7

CARRICK AREA REUNION 2006
An Charraig/Carrick: Memories articles, history and photographs relating to Carrick, Co Donegal
Co Donegal: The Committee, 2006. 135p.

COLÁISTE CHOLMCILLE PETTIGO PUPILS PROJECT
Pettigo:A Border village at the heart of County Donegal
[s.l.:s.n., 2006]. 22p.
€10 [includes DVD]

CONNOLLY, Joe & Thomas Monds
Ó Foinse go farraige: The Story of the Gweebarra
Dublin: The Allen Library, 2006. 146p.
0952602245 €15

CUNNINGHAM, John B.
The Lost English plantation of Fermanagh
In Migration and myth: Ulster's revolving door
Downpatrick: Ulster Local History Trust in association with the Cavan-Monaghan Rural Development Cooperative Society, 2006.
0954283228 €12

CUNNINGHAM, John B.
The Way we were in Fermanagh in World War and the 1940s: The golden years of smuggling?
Fermanagh: The Author, 2006. 222p.
€20

DUFFY, Gerald & Declan BRESLIN (eds)
The Creeslough View 2007/ 6th Edition
[s.l.:s.n.], 2006. 100p.
€8

FAWCETT, Rev. Canon. F. W. (ed)
Inishowen: whispers from the past
[first published 1926-28], 56p.
£5

HAGGAN, Mary
Ramelton: an illustrated guide to the town
Ramelton: The Author, 2006. 3rd ed. 32p.
€6

HUNTER, Jim
The Waves of Tory:the story of an Atlantic community = Tonnta Thoraí:scéal pobail Atlantaigh
Bucks: Colin-Smythe, 2006. 129p.
9780861404568 €25

HYLAND, Liam and Drumcliff Committee
Drumcliff 50 years: A Celebration

Donegal Town: Drumcliff Committee, 2006. 40p. €3

KELLY, F. J.
Around Cooladawson: A Countryside remembered
Letterkenny: The Author, 2006.
€20

MEEHAN, Helen
The Day of the straws in the North-West
In "Spark", Border Counties Local History Review, Vol 19, Summer 2006. pp7-10.

MONTGOMERY, Rt. Rev. Bishop Henry
A Generation of Montgomerys
Draperstown: Ballinascreen Historical Society, 2006.
[First printed 1895].
0954434137

NIC GIOLLA DÉ, Á
Burials in Ardara 1830-1851
In Dearcadh, The Ardara View, 2006-2007. 2006. pp65-69.
[Relating to members of the Church of Ireland and Methodist Church]
€7

O'DONNELL, Eunan
The Honourable Edward O'Donnell MacDevitt (1841-1898)
In Dearcadh, The Ardara View, 2006-2007. 2006. pp77-79.
[Attorney General of Queensland, Australia] €7

SCHULE, Anna Sophie
Outdoor Relief in Millford Union, County Donegal, Ireland from 1859 to 1922
Trier: Universitat Trier, 2006. 92p.
[Masters Thesis]

SMITH-MASON, Catherine
The Stones of Duntinny
Scotland: DOICA, 2006. 135p.
978 1 904 054 18 5

SWEENEY, Malachy
The Sands of time: a history of Donegal Town and its environs
Donegal: Tirhugh Press, 2006. 368p.
978 0 955315506 €25

General history ~ Stair Ginearálta

CHESTNUTT, Lulu
Coastal Trade of the Ketch Millbay of Plymouth between 1902-44
Lisburn: The Author, 2006. 84p.
0955368100 €15

HEWSON, Eileen
A Handbook for Irish war graves in India Burma & beyond 1914-45
Wem, Shropshire: Kabristan Archives. 2005. 92p.
0954897919 £15

DUFFY, Patrick J. (ed)
Gaelic Ireland: 1250-1650: Land lordship & settlement
Dublin: Four Courts, 2004. 454p.
1651828001 £28.50

EDWARDS, David (ed)
Regions and rulers in Ireland 1100-1650
Dublin: Four Courts, 2003. 288p.
1851827420 £55

HEWSON, Eileen
The Forgotten Irish: Memorials of the Raj
Wem, Shropshire: Kabristan Archives. 2004. 328p.
0954897900 £30

LACEY, Brian
Cenél Conaill and the Donegal kingdoms AD500 – 800
Dublin: Four Courts, 2006. 324p.
1851829784 €45

McEWAN, Yvonne
"It's a Long way to Tipperary": British and Irish nurses in the Great War
Scotland: Cualann, 2006. 195p.
0954441656 €19
[Includes the experience of Donegal nurse, Catherine Black, from Ramelton].

McGETTIGAN, Darren
Gaelic military organisation and the Nine Years' War: The army of Red Hugh O'Donnell
<u>In</u> The Irish Sword, vol XXIV, No. 98, Winter 2005, pp397-410

McGETTIGAN, Darren
Red Hugh O'Donnell and the Nine Years War
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005. 190p
1851828877

MCGURK, John
Sir Henry Dowcra 1564-1631
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005
1851829482

SOMERS, Dermot
Endurance-heroic journeys in Ireland
Dublin: O'Brien, 2005. 192p.
0862787971 £8.83

LENIHAN, Padraig (ed)
Conquest and resistance: War in 17th century Ireland. (History of warfare)
Boston: Brill, 2001. 300p.
9004117431 £46.66

Audio / Video ~ Closamhairc / Fís

Multi-Media

BRADLEY, Noel
Rural isolation men's education and health: The Personal reflections of an outreach worker
Letterkenny: Mevagh Resource Centre, 2006. 24p.
Booklet & DVD
[Downings Mens' Education Initiative]

CD

AN PAIDRÍN PÁIRTEACH
Leis an Athair Nigel Ó Gallchóir, Seán Ó Gallchóir agus Pádraig Ó Baoighill.
As Gaeltacht Dhún na nGall: [s.l.] 2006.
€ 5

CAVANAGH, Patsy
Maybe someday
Fahan: Churchbrae Studio, 2006
CD €15
[original Music]

DONOHOE, Martin
Tasty touches: Blúríní blasta
The Arts Council. 2006.
2 CDs, 41 Tracks

McNUTT, John
Christmas truce 1914 …
CD 2006
[original Music]

Ó DOCHARTAIGH, Seoirse
Seoirse: Celebrating 20 years of music making = Ag Ceiliúradh fiche bliain ceoil
CD 2006 77.10 mins

SCOIL NAOMH FIACHRA, Illistrin
"Fuaimeanna Fiachra"

Music and Song from Scoil Naomh Fiachra, Illistrin.
CD 2006

DVD

BONHORST, Dietrich
The Gweebarra a people's river
Dietrich Bonhorst Film & Video Productions, 2006
DVD, 30 min. €12.50

NÍC AODH, Díane (Stiúrthóir)
Chloich cheann fhola
Contents: A brief history of Chloich Cheann Fhaola, The barracks, interviews with former residents of the barracks.
DVD

DONEGAL IS THE BUSINESS – Information Film
Wallace Media Studios. 2006.
DVD 30 mins
[information from Educational, Banking & Enterprise Sector.
Interviews and advice from several successful business people in Donegal.]

Impressions of Ramelton and Donegal

DONEGAL IS THE BUSINESS – Information Film
Wallace Media Studios. 2006.
DVD 30 mins
[information from Educational, Banking & Enterprise Sector.
Interviews and advice from several successful business people in Donegal.]

Impressions of Ramelton and Donegal
DVD 45 mins 2006 €18

Every effort is made to create as comprehensive a bibliography as possible. However, given the extent of publishing in and relevant to the county, there may be occasional omissions. The author would be grateful for the assistance of readers in providing details of any 2006 publications not listed. These will then be included in the next bibliography. Details of 2007 publications would also be appreciated.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Ciara Cunnane, Assistant Librarian, Helen McNutt, A/Assistant Librarian and Berni Campbell, Senior Library Assistant, in compiling this list.

PROCEEDINGS

Anthony Begley

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING - The Annual General Meeting of County Donegal Historical Society was held in Jackson's Hotel, Ballybofey on Tuesday 4 April 2006 at 8 pm. Mr. Vincent O'Donnell was unanimously re-elected as President. Two new trustees were elected, Mr. Arthur Spears and Mr. Patrick Perry. Three new executive members were elected, Mr. Declan O'Carroll, Mr. Patrick Perry and Mr. Don Harte. Mr. Anthony Begley was appointed Curator of the County Donegal Historical Society Museum at Rossnowlagh and Mr Eamon MacIntyre was elected PRO of the Society.

MUSEUM CURATOR'S REPORT - Mr. Anthony Begley, incoming Curator, reported at the AGM in April 2006 the great sadness felt at the departure of Mr. Louis Emerson, Curator of the County Donegal Historical Society Museum, who died in September 2005.

"The Museum will stand as a lasting memorial to Louis Emerson, a pioneering historian, who was responsible, over a lifetime, for collecting the material now housed in Rossnowlagh. At last year's Annual General Meeting Louis reported on the Golden Jubilee of the Museum which was established in 1954. In his report he acknowledged the contribution of Mr. Andrew Lowry, first President of C.D.H.S., whose collection of archaeological artefacts formed the nucleus of the Museum in 1954 and which still form a valuable part of the Museum collection. He also recorded the contribution of Fr. Terence O' Donnell O.F.M who was responsible for obtaining accommodation for the museum at the Franciscan Friary in Rossnowlagh where the museum collection has been housed since 1954. The Society Museum could not have thrived but for the generosity of benefactors who donated items to the museum and these kind benefactors can be assured that the articles in the museum will be carefully preserved. We are indebted to the Guardian and Franciscan Community in Rossnowlagh for their continued generosity and support for the Museum. We hope that the bond between the Franciscan Community and County Donegal Historical Society will continue far into the future."

Mr. Begley reported to the A.G.M. that in 2005 over 5,000 visitors had signed the Visitors' Book in the Museum and that, from initial research; countless thousands more who visited the museum, did not sign the book, but just enjoyed the experience. For its size, he concluded it must be one of the most popular voluntary museums in the country. The Emerson Fund, in memory of Kathleen and Louis Emerson, to which members of the Society generously contributed over €4,000, will be used to promote local history in the schools and the museum.



Winners of the Schools' Competition – Carndonagh Community School with Delsie Pace (US exchange tutor) and Mr. Paul Fiorentini (Principal).

SCHOOLS' COMPETITION - The annual Schools' Competition presentation on the 6th of May in Ballybofey continues to play a very important part in the development of local history in primary and post-primary schools. It encourages students to research and record many facets of local history which may otherwise be lost and also the projects give young people a sense of their own place. Mr. Pat Shallow, Director of the Schools Competitions and the staff in the schools are to be complimented on the promotion of local history in the county. The late Mr. Arthur Lemon, as Director of the Schools Competition, in the past, played a pivotal role in the promotion of local history in the schools.

FIELD DAYS - On 23 July, the first field day of the season took place at the Maritime Museum, Greencastle where our guides were Peter Smith and Charlie McCann.
On 6 August, Conall Byrne acted as guide for our second field day in Inishowen, which attracted a large attendance. Sites visited included Carndonagh Cross, Isle of Doagh and Carrickabraghy Castle.
On 3 September, during Heritage Week, the final field day of the year took place in the Rossnowlagh-Ballyshannon area. A record attendance for a field day in the area met at the Society's museum in Rossnowlagh. Mr. Anthony Begley acted as guide and historic sites visited included Kilbarron Church, Wardtown Castle and Abbey Assaroe.

DONEGAL ANNUAL - Many tributes have been paid to Mr. Seán Beattie, Editor and the Editorial Board, on the quality and content of this year's Donegal Annual which was very well illustrated and had some beautiful colour photographs of walled gardens in the county. This year's annual was a sell-out and members are encouraged to tell their

friends to subscribe to the Society to ensure they get a copy of the Donegal Annual delivered to their homes. Cost of membership is €20 and can be sent to Mr. Frank Shovlin, Hon. Treasurer, Waterloo Place, Donegal Town. A limited number of back issues of the Donegal Annual is available from the Hon. Secretary for 1980-85, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1994-1999, 2001-2004. Pre-1990 copies cost 25 euro; post-1990 issues cost 20 euro. Postage is extra.

PADDY McGILL MEMORIAL LECTURE - The McGill Memorial Lecture took place on 28 October in Ardara. Dr. Pádraig Ó'Baoighill lectured on Cardinal O'Donnell before a large audience. He outlined his work for evicted tenants in the county and his involvement with the Congested Districts Board, Home Rule, the Irish Parliamentary Party and educational reform.

ANNUAL COACH OUTING – KINSALE – The annual coach outing, on 16 June, was quite different to previous years in that it was a three-day trip to Kinsale retracing, in part, the footsteps of Red Hugh O' Donnell. Enthusiasts set out from Donegal with the first stop at Ballymote Castle where Niall O'Farry outlined the history of the castle and its association with Red Hugh O'Donnell and his army. It was from Ballymote that they set out on that fateful march to Kinsale in Nov. 1601. Next stop was at Holy Cross Abbey where O'Neill and O'Donnell had prayed during their trek south, with Willie Hayes as our guide there. When we arrived at the Trident Hotel Kinsale, members of the O'Neill Country Historical Society and Kinsale Historical Society were waiting for us. The town of Kinsale was having a new Mayor inaugurated that evening and his first official task was to welcome the Donegal and Tyrone people to Kinsale. Next morning we all visited the local museum where Eugene Gillen the curator showed us around. This was followed by a trip down the bay on board the 'Spirit of Kinsale' with commentary from the captain. Back on dry land again, we headed for a tour of the battlefield where Eugene Gillen, Gerry McCarthy, Maura Ahern and Vincent Murphy outlined the events of that fateful night in 1601. At 7.30 we all sat down to dinner in the Trident followed by speeches and presentations. After Sunday church services we headed for Aughrim where guide, Paddy Naughton, talked about Donal Cam O'Sullivan Beare and his followers who had camped at Aughrim on their way north. We also enjoyed a visit to the Aughrim Visitor Centre. On arrival back in Donegal we had dinner in Bundoran having enjoyed a wonderful weekend. The event was expertly organized by Ms. Una McGarrigle, Hon. Sec. and Mr. Vincent O'Donnell, President of our Society.

PAST PRESIDENTS

(Asterisk denotes deceased).

*1947 –	Andrew Lowry, Argery, Raphoe.
*1948 –	Rt. Rev. Dean Molloy, D.Ph., V.G., P.P., Dungloe.
*1949 –	Capt. J. Hamilton, Ballintra.
*1950 –	Sean D. MacLochlainn, Lifford.
*1951 –	Rev. Dr. J. H. Bewglas, Raphoe.
*1952 –	An tAth. P. MacLoinsigh, P.P., Aghyaran.
*1953 –	Rev. R. Laird, The Manse, Ardstraw.
*1954 –	Patrick J. McGill, N.T., F.R.S.A.I., Ardara.
*1955 –	Miss C. Atkinson, Cavangarden, Ballintra.
*1956/1957 –	Fr. Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., Rossnowlagh.
*1958/1959 –	Mr. J. C. T. MacDonagh, Ballybofey.
*1960 –	Denis Verschoyle, Cape Town, South Africa.
*1961 -	Eamonn MacLoinsigh, An Clochan, Gleann Fhinne.
*1962/1964 –	P. Urr. O'Gallachair, Cluain Eois & Drom Mor.
*1965 –	Harry P. Swan, Buncrana.
*1966/1967 –	Rupert S. O'Cochlainn, Dublin.
*1968/1970 –	E. W. R. Cookman, M.A., Raphoe.
*1971 –	Dr. J. G. Simms, Dublin.
*1972/1973 –	Liam MacMeanman, B.A., O.S., Fal Carrach.
*1974 –	Sean Mac Loinsigh, O.S., Convoy.
*1975/1976 –	Brian Walsh, F.S.M.C., Letterkenny.
*1977/1979 –	J. D. Williams, Letterkenny.
*1980/1982 –	Dorothy Borland, Fanad.
*1983 –	Edward McIntyre, Strabane.
*1984/1986 –	Cecil King, Ballyshannon.
*1987/1988 –	Liam O'Doherty, Derry.
1989 –	Arthur Spears, B.E., Lifford.
*1990/1992 –	Arthur Lemon, Waterford.
1993/1994 –	Seamus Gildea, Glenties.
1995/1996 –	Mairead Dunlevy, Dublin.
1997/1998 –	Patrick J. Dunleavy, Dungloe.
1999/2001 -	Edward O' Kane, Cavanacor House, Ballindrait, Lifford.
2002/2005 -	Anthony Begley , Ballyshannon.
2005 -	Vincent O'Donnell, Inver

OFFICERS: 2006

President	Vincent O'Donnell
Vice-President	May McClintock
Hon. Secretary	Una McGarrigle
Hon. Treasurer	Frank Shovlin
Asst. Treasurer	Moira Mallon
Hon. Auditor	John McCreadie
Hon. Editor	Seán Beattie
PRO	Eamon MacIntyre and Connie Duffy
Asst. PRO	Leonard Roarty
Director of Archaeological Survey	Judith McCarthy
Curator	Anthony Begley
Editorial Board -	Seán Beattie (Editor),
	LochlannMcGill,
	Vincent O'Donnell,
	Anthony Begley,
	Arthur Spears,
	Seamus Gildea,
	Patrick Dunleavy,
	Eileen Burgess
Directors of Harley/MacDonagh/Fitzgerald	
Memorial Awards-	Pat Shallow,
	Arthur Spears,
	Seamus Gildea,
	Eddie O'Kane
Honorary Trustees -	Patrick Perry,
	Arthur Spears,
	Kathleen Carr
Executive Committee - (in addition to above)	Seán Bonner,
	Niamh Brennan,
	Bernie Campbell,
	Belinda Mahaffy,
	Helen Meehan,
	Rev. Dr. Pádraig Ó' Baoighill,
	Joseph O'Hegarty
	Elizabeth Patton, Don Harte.
	Paddy McMenamin,Declan O'Carroll,

SCHOOLS COMPETITIONS 2006

Pat Shallow

The theme for this year's competition was '1946', and although it attracted a smaller number of entries than usual, it produced some excellent research projects. The individual section was won by 9 year old Ellen Nugent with an excellent entry entitled, "The Year the Music Died", focusing on life and events in the Ballyshannon area, including the building of the HEP station and the railway bridge. The post-primary section produced two fabulous efforts from Deele College, Raphoe and Carndonagh Community School. Deele College concentrated on life in Raphoe and the wider world while Carndonagh Community School focused on the small community of Malin. The Cecil King Cup, which is for second level schools, involves the reproduction of artefacts from past history. The top three in this section were excellent pieces of work originating in two schools, Pobalscoil na Rosann and Carrick V.S. John Mc Hugh had created a reproduction of a working lighthouse based on the design of the Fastnet lighthouse. Ronan Diver created a cartwheel, which would have been used on farms in the period, for general work. Stephen Curran who won the competition produced an excellent model of a working churn. Samantha Mc Kemey, Nia Roberts and Carol Mc Elhinney from Holy Trinity NS, Dunfanaghy, were winners in the small -groups section, with an excellent account of life in Dunfanaghy circa. 1946. In the primary sector, St. Mura's Buncrana and Murroe NS were highly commended for their studies of Buncrana and Dunfanaghy. In second place were two schools from the Glenties area, St. Riaghan's and Edeninfagh NS. Edeninfagh NS looked at life in the area through the lives of the Campbell and Doherty families while St. Riaghan's used a series of interviews with various grandparents such as Maggie Keeney, Kathleen Furey and John Forest to bring 1946 back to life. The winning school Moyle NS Newtowncunningham had a very comprehensive account of all aspects of life in a border area around 1946. As always my thanks go out to the Harley Mc Donagh Committee, our judging teams, Barry Jackson and staff and the Fitzgerald Trust, who continue to sponsor the competitions.

Harley MacDonagh Shield	
Winners:	Moyle NS, Newtowncunningham
Runner Up:	St. Riaghan's NS Glenties, Edeninfagh NS, Glenties
Highly Commended:	(1) St. Mura's NS, Buncrana (2) Murroe NS, Dunfanaghy
Fr. Jackie Fitzgerald Trophy	Winner: Carndonagh Community School Runner Up: Deele College, Raphoe
Cecil King Cup	
Winner:	Stephen Curran, Carrick V.S.
Runners Up:	(1) John Mc Hugh, Pobalscoil na Rosann
	(2) Ronan Diver, Carrick V.S.
Emerson Award:	Deele College, Raphoe
Individual Entries	
Winner:	Ellen Nugent, Holy Family NS, Ballyshannon
Runner Up:	Rose Mc Auley, Scoil an Leinbh Iosa, Donegal Town
Small Groups	Nia Roberts, Samantha Mc Kemey & Carol Mc Elhinney of Holy Trinity NS, Dunfanaghy

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Sweeney, Dr. Patrick L., Termon, 10, Carnalea Road, Fintona, Co. Tyrone.
Sweeney, Paul, 97 Sandymount Ave, Dublin 4.
Swiney, John, Moyagh, Ramelton.
Swiney, C, Moyagh, Ramelton.
Thompson, Bill, Holy Hill, 78 Ballee Road, Strabane, Co.Tyrone, BT82 OAA.
Verschoyle, Mrs. Mieke, 503 Clairwood, Kenilworth, Cape Town 7700, South Africa.

JUNIOR MEMBERS

Capillanes Mark, Ballyloskey Road, Carndonagh.
Doherty David, Inse, Sliabh Ban, Malin Head.
Doherty Eibhlin, Bar, Carrowmena P.O. Lifford.
Hannigan, Paul, 41 Dara Court, Celbridge, Co.Kildare.
Gallagher, Cormac, Lisnanees, Letterkenny.
Logue, Matthew G., Keenagh, Malin Head.
Mac Donagh, Catherine, 37 Birckbeck Road,Wimbledon, London SW 19 8NZ
Mac Donagh,Michelle, 37 Birckbeck Road,Wimbledon, London SW 19 8NZ
McCallion Clare, Tromaty, Quigley's Point.
Ni Bhreisleain, Aine E., Bunbeag, Leitir Ceanainn.
O'Callaghan, Conal, Kilraine,Glenties.
Richko, Julie, 38 Woodview Estate, Lucan, Dodsboro, Dublin



Vincent O'Donnell, President, Seán O'Donnell, Raphoe, Willie Hayes (speaker), Michael Moran, Laghey at Holy Cross Abbey, Co Tipperary, on their way to Kinsale. O'Neill and O'Donnell prayed here on the way to Kinsale over 400 years ago. The Earls set sail on the Feast of the Holy Cross in 1607



New Lord Mayor, Fred Tracey's first duty was to welcome the members of the DHS to Kinsale. He is seen here along with Una Mc Garrigle and Vincent O'Donnell, President.



Members of the DHS at Ballymote Castle during their trip to Kinsale June 2006